

Distribution of the Churhabs by the Census of 1891

DISTRICT.	Number	DISTRICT.	Number.
Mathura	21	Lalitpur	113
Agra	155	Faizābād	54
Bānda	232	Bahrāich	29
Allahābād . . .	7		
Jhānsi	92		
		TOTAL	703

D.

Dabgar—(Sans: *darvakāra*, “a maker of any spoon-shaped vessel”).—The caste who make the raw hide jars in which oil, clarified butter, etc., are carried.

They are also known as Kuppêsâz, from *kuppa*, the leather vessel which they make (Sans *kūpa*, *kutupa*). They have a Hindu and Muhammadan section, but no regular sub-castes. They are divided into *gotras*, of which the most common to the east of the Province is the Sribâstab, who take their name from the old town of Srāvastī, in the Gonda District.

Others are Dehlwâl, Dair, Mochi, Sūpat, and Bengar. The Census lists give for the Hindu branch Bankar, Benbarsi, Dhâlgar or “Shield-makers,” Goliwâla, Jâti, Kanaujiya, and Sribâstab, and for the Muhammadan Panjâbi.

It is possible that they are an occupational offshoot from the Chamârs.

2. The Dabgar makes usually two classes of vessel, the *kuppa*, or large oil and butter jar, and the *phuleli*, a sort of little phial for holding scented oil, which may be seen in the bāzars hung up over the shops of the Gandhi or perfumer. These vessels are made of the clippings (*katran*) or the scrapings (*gūlar*, *chhīlan*) of raw hides. These he cuts up, crushes and bruises in water till they become a soft, pulpy mass. Thus he plasters over a mould of soft clay made in the shape of the vessel which he proposes to produce. The leather pulp is laid on in layers. He then shapes the neck on an earthen ring and dries the vessel in the sun. The inner core is extracted and the mouth-ring left to give stability to the vessel. Vessels of this kind are doubtless a very primitive survival of the leather bottle which was universally used by all nomad tribes.¹

3. There is nothing peculiar in their marriage customs, and their rule of exogamy is of the ordinary type. To the east of the Province they are worshippers of the Pāñchonpū, to whom they offer a mixture of pepper and sugar (*murchiwān*), which is poured on the shrine, and the remainder drunk by the worshippers. Sometimes they also offer in the same way cakes (*pūrt*), sweets, and, when serious trouble comes, a he-goat.

¹ Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 260, Note.

Distribution of Dabgars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sabāranpur		5	5
Mathura . . . . .	...	1	1
Etāwah . . . . .	...	65	65
Shāhjahānpur	32		32
Palibhāt	83		83
Cawnpur	53	...	53
Fatehpur	5	21	26
Hamīrpur		5	5
Allahābād	41	10	51
Jālaun		16	16
Ghāzipur	132	...	132
Ballia	230		230
Gorakhpur	330	..	330
Basti	88		88
Azamgarh	223	..	223
Kheri	76	...	76
Gonda . . . . .	...	6	6
Bahrāich	60	..	60
TOTAL	1,353	129	1,482

Dādupanthi.—A Vaishnava sect which derives its name from Dādu, a Dhuniya or cotton-carder by caste, who died in 1703 A.D. He was, according to popular belief, a direct successor of Rāmanand, and the line of descent is given—Rāmanand, Kabīr, Kamāl, Jamāl, Buddhān, and Dādu. Dādu was born at Ahmadābād, in Gujarāt, and at the age of twelve migrated to Sambhar, and then to a place called Narsina, about fifty miles south-west of Jaypur. There, at the age of thirty-seven, a voice from heaven enjoined him to renounce the world and pass his life in doing good to mankind and in devotion. His biographer, Jān

Gopāl, in a biography containing 2,864 lines, describes how he spent his life in the country between Ahmadābād, Delhi and Agra, teaching, discussing, and making many disciples. He seems to have lived a good deal at Amber, the old capital of Jaypur. He had frequent interviews with the Emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, and some wonderful stories are told of his miracles and adventures there. Finally in the neighbourhood of Naraina he was absorbed into the godhead in 1603 A.D. He is said to have had fifty-two disciples who spread his doctrines through Rājputāna and the neighbouring Provinces.

The chief of these were Rajab, Gharīb Dās, and Sundar Dās, and others also are named, such as Jaisa, Prayāg Dās, Bakhnagi, Sankar Dās, Bāba Sānwari Dās, and Mādho Dās. Of these Rajab, the first disciple of Dādu, was a Musalmān, and his Hindu followers are sometimes known by the name Uttarādhi, as distinguished from the Nāga, who are Hindus. The latter take their name from the Sanskrit *nagnaka*, "a naked ascetic."

2. The Dādupanthis are usually divided into the Virakta, or "those void of attachment to worldly objects," who go bare-headed, wear only a single garment, and carry a drinking vessel; the Nāga or "naked ascetics," and the Vastiradhān, or "those who wear clothes" and lead a family life. They have, in fact, like most religious communities in India, an exoteric and an esoteric order. The exoteric or uninitiated are the householders and disciples of the Swāmi Sādhu, or initiated order. These householders (*grihastha*) read, believe, and practise certain of the doctrines of the Bāni or book of songs, which embody the rules of the sect, and furnish the Dādupanthi Swāmi with food and accommodation when he visits their villages. They are not put out of caste for becoming disciples (*chela*), and so retain all their marriage and social rights and privileges.

Those of high caste retain their Brāhmanical cord (*janēū*) and other charms, and are frequently found in the temples at idol worship. They regularly attend the fairs (*mela*) of the sect and provide for the support of the mendicant members of the community.

3. The esoteric branch are known as Swāmi, "master;" Sādhu, "saint;" Sant, "holy man," or Guru, "teacher." They renounce the world and live under rules of celibacy and chastity, which are very strictly enforced. Some of them are teachers (*guru*), of whom many are good scholars and have a large following of disciples to

whom they teach the *bāni*. These wander about the country and are entertained by the faithful. Others are mere beggars without any learning. They usually beg from door to door, wear ochre-coloured clothes, and the bead necklace which is forbidden by the strict rules of the order. Others practise worldly professions. Thus some of the richest money-lenders in Jaypur are Dādupanthis; others are doctors, who have no knowledge of scientific surgery or physic, and merely know some Sanskrit verses and charms for the treatment of disease; a few keep grocery shops; others sell milk.

4. The Nāga or Military Dādupanthis live in seven camps or villages in the neighbourhood of Jaypur. Their pay is one anna per able-bodied man a day. They are occasionally sent out to coerce revenue defaulters. They are never all out on duty at the same time, and while they are employed they are paid at the rate of two annas *per diem*. Those left at home cultivate land, breed camels or lend money. Their founder is said to have been Bhīm Sinh, a younger brother of one of the Rājas of Bikānēr. They have done good service to the State in former times, and were faithful in the Mutiny. They are simple, quiet men, but now hardly deserve the name of soldier. They are recruited by adoption from all the higher Hindu castes, and as a natural result of a generation of peace their numbers have much reduced.

5. Dādu appears to have taught the unity of God. "To this day," says Mr. Coldstream,¹ "the Dādupanthis use the phrase *Sat Rām*, the True God, as a current phrase expressive of their creed. He forbids the worship of idols and did not build temples; now temples are built by his followers, who say that in them they worship "The Book." "The worship," according to Professor Wilson, "is addressed to Rāma, but it is restricted to the *Japa* or repetition of his name, and the Rāma intended is the deity negatively described in the Vedānta theology." In fact the doctrine of Dādu is sometimes described as pantheistic. The religious works of the sect contain many of the sayings of Kabīr. The chief of these are the Dādubāni, the Sakya-granth and the Janamlīla, which contains an account of the Guru and his disciples. In the Panjāb the celibates of to-day wear white cloths in contrast to most other Sādhs who wear ochre-coloured clothes. They abjure flesh and wine, and they shave both beard and moustache. They wear necklaces and

¹ MacLagan, *Panjāb Settlement Report*, 147.

have white round caps on their heads, to which is attached a piece of cloth which hangs down the back.

6. At the Census of 1891 there were only five members of this sect recorded in these Provinces, of whom four were found in the Sahâranpur and one in the Muzaffarnagar District.

Distribution of the Nâgas and Dâdupanthis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Dâdupanthis	Nâgas	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn		3	3
Sihâranpur	4	14	18
Muzaffarnagar	1	4	5
Aligarh		25	25
Agra		43	43
Mainpuri		2	2
Etah		4	4
Shâhjahânpur		7	7
Fatehpur . . . . .	...	2	2
Bânda . . . . .	..	1	1
Hamîrpur . . . . .	..	5	5
Allahâbâd . . . . .	..	3	3
Gorakhpur		4	4
Bâglî . . . . .	...	280	280
Garhwâl		13	13
Taûnâ		1	1
TOTAL	5	411	416
		Males	335
		Females	76

Dafâli.¹—A tribe of beggars and musicians who are found throughout the Province except the Hills, and take their name from

¹ Mainly based on information collected at Mirzapur.

the *daf* or tambourine which they play. According to their own account they are allied to the Madâris; but there is this difference, that the Dafâlis worship Sayyid Sâlâr' Ghâzi, of Bahraich, and the Madâris, Madâr Sahib, of Makhanpur. Both are called Darwesh, but the Dafâlis try to distinguish the tribes by calling themselves Darwesh and the Madâris Durwesh. They say that they are the descendants of Roshan Darwesh, to whom they make an occasional offering of cakes and burn incense.

2 In the Census Returns they are recorded under sixty-seven sections: but these appear to have no influence on marriages. Some of these are purely Muhammadan titles, as Ansâri, Quraishi, Lodi, Madariya, Mirâsi, Mujâwir, Sadiqi, and Sunni: others are Hindu names, as Jât, Jhojha, Râjput, Rânghar: others are local, as Bahraichi, Dakkhinâha, and Uttarâha. They have a council (*panchâyat*) under a hereditary president (*chaudhari*), which generally meets at marriages and funerals and settles cases of breach of tribal rules. Offenders are usually fined in sums varying from five to ten annas. The money thus collected is spent in feeding the clansmen.

3. They practise the ordinary Muhammadan law of exogamy, but object to marry their daughters into families which reverence different saints or godlings. A man cannot marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first without her consent. Divorce is permitted for infidelity, and also if one party become an idiot, lunatic, or suffer serious mutilation. But in all cases the divorce must be with the sanction of the tribal council. Widow-marriage and the levirate with the usual restrictions are both allowed. Divorced persons can remarry in the tribe, provided they were not divorced for any serious violation of caste custom. The usual service (*sharak*) is read at marriages by one of the tribe who is known for the nonce as Maulavi.

4. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy, except the tying round the woman's neck of a charm to ward off the evil spirits which attack the mother. When parturition is delayed she is given water to drink in which a sword has been washed, and the person who draws the water must do so with his right hand only. When the child is born a Chamârin is called in to cut the cord. She remains in attendance only one day, and her place is then taken by the wife of the barber. The mother is isolated for twelve days; but she is allowed to cook and do

other household work. On the ~~twelfth~~ day is the *barahi*, when a dinner consisting of *urad* pulse, rice and meat is given to the brotherhood. When the dinner is over some sweetmeats are offered to Ghāzi Miyān, and then distributed among those present. When the child is a year old they take it and the mother, if possible, to the Ganges in the month of Bhādon during the asterism (*nakshatra*) of Magha. The mother makes a little paper boat, and in it she puts a garland of flowers, a lamp, sugar, and bread, to which some add betel, and lets it float down the stream. This, a custom derived from their Hindu neighbours, is known as Ganga pujāya. When a boy is seven years old they perform the rite of circumcision (*Musalmanī*). This is usually done at the 'Id, Baqrīd, and Muharram. The friends are invited; a square is marked out in the courtyard, and the friends sit round. The boy is bathed by the barber and dressed in new clothes. Then his father's sister's husband (*phūpha*) takes him in his arms to the nearest mosque to pray. On their return the boy is given a dose of *ma'jūm*, and when the narcotic begins to take effect he is placed in the square by his uncle (*phūpha*) and seated facing the west. Then the barber performs the operation invoking God and the Prophet. The only application used for the wound is some rose water. After the operation is over the boy's father gives a turban, *tala*, and a few annas to the barber, and each of the friends present puts a pice or two into his cup. After this a dinner of meat and bread is served. When the wound is cured the barber bathes the boy again, and receives some grain and a money present.¹ When they adopt they usually adopt their son-in-law, or in default of him preference is given to a brother's son. No adoption is valid unless publicly communicated to the assembled clansmen. A feast is given and the adoption formally declared.

5. As an instance of a low caste Muhammadan wedding that of a Dafālī may be described. The betrothal is arranged by some friend of both parties.

When both parties agree, on an auspicious day selected by the village Pandit the bride's father takes to the house of the bridegroom a ring and handkerchief on her behalf. These are accepted, and the boy's father announces to the assembled friends that the marriage will take place. On this the girl's father pays two-and-a-half annas,

¹ For the regular circumcision ritual, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I, 71.

and the boy's father five annas, and with this sugar is bought and served round, after being offered to God and the Prophet. Next morning the girl's father returns home. Some time after the boy's father pays a visit to the bride and makes her a present of bangles (*chûrî*), a suit of clothes (*tul kapra*), a bodice (*choli*), and some sweets. After a meeting of the tribesmen the wedding day is fixed. Poor people, however, send the girl beforehand to her husband, and any ceremony they can afford to do is done at his house. On the day before the wedding is the *ratjaga*, when the women sit up all night and spend their time making sweet cakes (*gulgu'a*). These are offered next morning to God and the Prophet, and to the spirits of the ancestors of the family. They are then distributed among the guests. The bridegroom is bathed and dressed in a yellow coat (*jâma*), trousers, and a turban. A large chaplet (*sehra*) hangs down from head to knee. He rides to the bride's house followed by his friends playing on the *dafli*. They halt under a tree near the village, and from there the boy's father sends a present of bangles, clothes, curds, oil, and henna. Then they come to the girl's house, where the service is read by some old man of the tribe who can read or repeat the words. Some sugar is put close by which is distributed among the guests, and the marriage feast, consisting of sugar, rice, and curds, is served. This is known as *shakarâna*, or "the sugar feast." Next day the bride's father gives presents to her barber, bangle-maker, water-woman, and the village watchman, and then starts for the place where the bridegroom's party are staying, with a basket containing vessels, grain and anything else he can afford to give as the dowry of his daughter. He places these before the father of the bridegroom, and asks his forgiveness for not being able to give more. The bridegroom's father says the same, and they exchange compliments. After this the dowry basket is passed round, and all the friends present contribute as far as their means will go. This is termed "the giving of the dowry" (*jâhez dildna*). The husband then takes his wife away, and when he returns home he entertains his clansmen on curds, sugar, and rice, and next day gives them a regular dinner of bread and meat.

Every one present contributes two annas as dowry. After this the Ganga pujaiya is done, as already described at births, and the whole business ends with an offering of rice, curds, and sugar to Ghâzi Miyân, which is divided among the audience.

6. The funeral is carried out in the usual way of Muhammadans.

Death ceremonies.

When it is over the mourners assemble at the house of the deceased and drink sharbat. On the fourth day they again assemble, and some verses of the Qurān are read over a vessel containing some sweets (*batāsha*), grain, and oil. This is known as *kul parhan*, and the contents of the vessel are divided among the audience. The clansmen are fed on *urad* pulse and rice, and the faqīr in charge of the grave is given a present. On the tenth and twentieth day bread and meat are offered to the spirit of the dead man, and on the fortieth day a final dinner is given, and next morning they put the clothes, beads, and water vessel (*badhana*) of the deceased on his bed and take them to his grave, where they are left for any one who wishes to carry them away. An offering of food is made to the family dead at the Shab-i-barāt.

7. Their tribal deities are chiefly Kālīka, Sahjādi, and Ghāzi

Religion.

Miyān, three of the quintette of the Pānch Pir. To Kālīka are offered in the month of Aghan bread and rice cooked in milk. Sahjādi is worshipped at the same time. Ghāzi Miyān's day is the first Sunday in the month of Jeth, when his wedding is celebrated. Animal sacrifices are made, and the meat is consumed by the worshippers. They also worship a number of local martyrs (*shahīd*), and they are in great fear of various demons and ghosts.

8. The Dafāli is a beggar, and goes about with a wallet (*jāori*)

Occupation.

in which he collects what he can get. But he also acts as a sort of hedge priest to the lower class Musalmāns, and officiates at marriages, funerals, and the like, for people who cannot afford to pay for the services of the regular Qāzi. They beg in beats, and each house has its body of parishioners (*jajmān*). One of their chief duties is the exorcising of evil spirits by beating the drum, and driving the effects of the Evil Eye from children. When a man's children do not live he gets the Dafāli to tie a string (*baddhi*) round the neck of the baby. They are particularly conspicuous at the fairs of Ghāzi Miyān, whose shrines they tend, act as his priests, and receive the offerings.

Distribution of the Dafālis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehra Dūn	98	Jālaun	83
Sehāranpur	4,161	Lahitpur . . . .	...
Muzaffarnagar	1,797	Bennies	2,012
Meerut	1,733	Muzapur	1,739
Unlandeshahr	11	Jaunpur	2,442
Aligarh	211	Ghāzipur	652
Mathura	52	Ballia	439
Agra	118	Gorakhpur	2,205
Farrukhābād	360	Fasti	2,416
Mainpuri	153	Azamgarh	1,189
Etāwah	209	Tarāi	216
Etah	408	Lucknow	378
Bareilly	1,813	Unāo	355
Bijnor	162	Rāc Bareli	882
Budaun	788	Sitapur	677
Morādābād	316	Hardoi	287
Shāhjahanpur	666	Kheri	90
Pilibhīt	472	Faizābād	1,934
Cawnpur	149	Gonda	2,214
Fatehpur	280	Bahrāich	1,770
Bānda	250	Sultānpur	1,836
Hamirpur	121	Partābgarh	
Allahābād	1,998	Bārābanki	1,335
Jhānsi	21	TOTAL	42,075

Dalera.¹—A tribe of basket-makers, day-labourers, and thieves

¹ From notes by Pandit Janardan Datt Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly, and Report, Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. P., 1889, p. 125, sqq

found in Bareilly and the Tarâi. The name is derived from the Hindi *daliya*, "a basket." A common half humorous derivation is from *diler*, "venturesome." According to the tribal tradition a Bargûjar Thâkur once violated a Kabâr woman and was excommunicated. His descendants are the present Daleras. They are supposed to be closely allied both to Khâgis and Mallâhs. Their head-quarters in Bareilly are at the village of Ginganwa, in Tahsil Aonla. They are also found at Munjkhera, in the Bulandshahr District. They have no distinct traditions regarding their place of origin, except that they came from somewhere in the South about a hundred years ago. The Bareilly story is that they were driven from Meerut and Bulandshahr by a famine.

2. Their sections, of which the last Census Returns enumerate forty-four, do not throw much light on their origin. Many are derived from well-known tribes, as Bais, Barai, Bargûjar, Chauhân, Chiryamâr, Gurkha, Jâdubansi, Kânhpuriya, Mallâh.

3. Some of these are perhaps of totemistic origin, such as the Sirisîya of Bareilly, who will not cut or injure the *siris* tree (*acacia sirisa*). Their marriages are carried out according to the standard ritual in force among the higher Hindu castes.

4. The Daleras will not thief at night, and carry on their operations principally at fairs, bathing places, and the like. At such places a Dalera takes his seat near a pilgrim and pretends to cook. While his neighbour's attention is occupied, the Dalera steals his vessels or other property. When he steals a brass pot, he goes into the water and with an iron spike he carries, makes holes in it, which prevent the possibility of identification. Sometimes they make a mock disturbance in a bazar, and in the confusion snatch articles from shops which they rapidly pass into the hands of a confederate. Or they go dressed as Thâkars or Brâhmins and make a boy steal while they keep the shop-keeper engaged. If the lads are caught they never give their correct age or address. The thief gets a double share of the booty, and most of the gains are spent in drink. If a boy is arrested his well-dressed companions intercede for him. In their methods of crime they closely resemble those of the Barwars and Sanaurhiyas.

Distribution of the Daleras according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Bareilly . . .	2,009	Pilibhit . . .	6
Bijnor . . .	23	Gorakhpur . . .	1
Morādābād . . .	29	Trīnāl . . .	165
		TOTAL . . .	2,233

Dângi.¹—An agricultural tribe found chiefly in Jhânsi. The caste professes to derive its name from a certain Râja Dang, a Raghubansi Râjput, from whom they trace descent; but the word probably means no more than “hill-man” (Hindi, *dang*, “a hill”). They profess to be immigrants from a place called Nirver, in the Gwâlior State, with which, however, they appear to hold no connection by marriage or pilgrimage, selection of bards, priests, or barbers; and those at present resident in the Jhânsi District have come chiefly within comparatively recent times from the Datya and Tikamgarh States. They have nothing in the way of a genealogical tree or traditions connected with ancient sites or monuments which would throw any clear light on their origin; but there seems good reason to suspect that they may be connected with the Gond and similar races of the Central Indian plateau.

2. They have no sub-tribes, but are divided into a number of exogamous *gotras*, among which we find in Jhânsi the Patra, Nirveriya, Disauriya, Chakauriya, Madhpuriya, Dhauniya, and Pariya. Of these the Nirveriya is derived from Nirver, their original settlement, and though local enquiries have failed to explain the meaning of the other terms, they are probably of similar local origin. Of the sixty-seven names given in the Census lists very few can be connected with those of other tribes, except perhaps the Basoriya, Luniya, Niyâriya, Pahriya, and Sarwariya. The others appear to be of purely local origin, and this would lead to the inference that the tribe has been little, if at all, exposed to foreign influence.

¹ Based on a series of notes by Munshi Râdhâ Raman, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi.

3. There is no regular tribal council ; but there are certain persons who are regarded in each group of villages as headmen (*mukhiya*), and they assemble a meeting of the adult householders whenever a case occurs demanding enquiry. They deal principally with questions of marriage, excommunication, and restoration to caste privileges.

4. Marriage is forbidden between members of the same *gotra* and between first cousins. There are no prohibitions of intermarriage based on difference of social status, geographical or local position, worship or occupation. But intermarriage of persons belonging to different religions is not permitted. When the bride arrives at her husband's house, his kinsmen make her small presents, which are known as *muchāi* or *munhādkhāi*, "the showing of her face." There is no restriction on the number of wives : a man marries as many as he can afford to keep. All the wives are much on the same footing ; but the first wife is known as *Jethi* or senior, and is held in more respect in the family than those junior to her. They all live together unless they quarrel, which is very unusual : in fact the senior wife often urges her husband to marry again, as she thus obtains an assistant in house and field work. North of the River Betwa at least concubinage is permitted. Polyandry is prohibited. Little girls are allowed a considerable amount of freedom ; but if an unmarried girl is detected in immorality, she is excommunicated, and her whole family as well, unless they discard her. The age for marriage is, for girls seven or eight ; for boys twelve or thirteen. After betrothal the engagement is not voidable on account of disease or physical defect. The match is arranged by the parents, but those a little higher in the social scale employ a Brāhman and barber. The consent of the parents is absolutely necessary, and the parties have no freedom of choice. No price is paid for either bride or bridegroom, but when the betrothal (*tika*) is being performed, the friends of the bride are expected to give the boy a present. Even idiocy, lunacy or impotence appearing after marriage are not grounds for annulling it. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery in the wife. It is generally done by word of mouth, and the woman is turned out of the house. But usually, even if there be no regular tribal enquiry, the husband does not divorce his wife without taking the opinion of four or five of the leading clansmen in an informal way. A divorced woman cannot be remarried in the regular way, but another man may take her as his concubine, in which case he

must give a dinner (*roté*) to the clansmen. Children by concubines, provided that they are women of the caste, have the same rights as offspring by regular marriages, but children who are the result of illicit connections which have not been condoned, or whose mothers were not members of the caste, are not admitted to tribal privileges and cannot marry in the caste.

5. Remarriage of widows is prohibited; but a man may take a

Widow marriage.

widow of the caste to live with him without any ceremony, except the assent of the leading clansmen and the giving of a tribal feast. The levirate is allowed with the usual limitation, that it is only the younger brother who can claim the woman. But the widow is not compelled to live with her brother-in-law, and may set up house with an outsider, in which case the children of her first husband remain with his relations, and she loses all rights of maintenance in the household of her former husband. Her children by the first husband inherit his estate. If the first husband was childless his brothers inherit. There is no fiction that the children by the levir are supposed to belong to his dead brother.

6. There are no special observances during pregnancy. The

Birth ceremonies.

Chamâin midwife attends and cuts the cord. During accouchement the mother adopts a sitting posture, and is held by the women of the family. After parturition is over the wife of the village barber acts as nurse. On the Dashtau or tenth day the clansmen and friends are fed; the relations of the mother send her presents (*pûch*) and soaked gram is distributed. There is no indication of the couvade. For ten days the women and her relations are considered impure and are not allowed to touch other people or engage in worship of the gods. There are no special customs in connection with twins.

7. There is no special ritual in force at adoption. The clan

Adoption. Puberty.

people are invited; the men are fed on sweets and the women on soaked gram. There are no observances at the attainment of puberty.

8. The person who goes to the boy's house to arrange the

Marriage ceremonies.

betrothal gives a cocoanut, some money, and a packet of betel (*pén*). This is the binding part of the ceremony, and the betrothal is then irreversible. Betrothal generally takes place when the girl is five or six years of age, and the consent of both parents is essential. There is no rule

for the repayment of the expenses if the marriage does not take place.

9. Seven days before the actual marriage ceremony the bride's father sends a letter (*lagan ki chulthi*) to the bridegroom's father fixing the date and hour of the marriage. A sum of money already agreed on accompanies this letter. When the procession starts to fetch the bride, they halt outside her village at a place prepared for them called the *Janwānsa*. In the evening they march in procession to the bride's house, being met half-way by her friends. At the door the *tika* ceremony is performed, and another present in money equal to that sent with the *lagan* is made to the bridegroom. The bridegroom is then taken inside, where he throws a fan on the marriage shed (*mandap*) and returns to his party. Next day, after the dinner, and generally at night, the actual *Bhanwar* or perambulation of the bride and bridegroom round the sacred fire and the "giving away" of the girl (*kanyādān*) are performed. The parents of the bride are not allowed to be present at the *Bhanwar* ceremony. On the third day the third dinner (*roti*) is given, and the ceremony of permitting the girl to go with her husband (*bidai*) is done. Here, again, the bride's father makes a third present equal in value to the previous two, which is known as *bela* or "cup." It is optional with the parties to perform the ceremony of changing the seats of the married pair (*lantpatta*). In case this ceremony is performed at the marriage it is not necessary to repeat it when the bride is leaving for her husband's house. If done, then it is known as *Chauko*, and the presents made at it by the father of the bride must equal in value half the presents made at the marriage. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the perambulations round the fire and the giving away of the bride. The only apparent survival of marriage by capture is the ceremony of *tika* or *darwāza* performed the first day. In this his maternal uncle takes the bridegroom in his arms inside the house of the bride, and there he strikes the marriage hut with a fan. As he is going away the women of the family beat the man who is carrying him with their fists and shout, "He has struck the *mandap* and is going away."

10. The dead are cremated and the ashes finally consigned to the Ganges. Immediately after death the
 Death ceremonies. corpse is covered with a piece of calico, white for men and red for women, and a few *pān* leaves are

put over the head and breast. No offerings are made, nor is the body washed at the house. When they reach the cremation ground (*ghāt*) a fire is lighted and the corpse laid with the head facing the south. Offerings of sesamum (*tīl*) and barley are made, and sesamum, barley and honey placed on the eyes of the corpse. The pyre is then lit by the heir, and he finally breaks the skull (*kapāl kriya*) to release the spirit. On the third day the relatives and clansmen are shaved. In the case of males the obsequies go on for thirteen days, and on the last day at least thirteen Brāhmans or more are feasted. The usual *Srāddha* is performed at the Kanāgat or Pitrapaksha in the month of Kuār. It is incumbent on the headman of the family during each of the sixteen days to pour a libation of water in honour of his deceased ancestors before he touches food or drink. The death ceremonies are carried out by the family priest, and in his absence by any Brāhman. There is no trace of the sister's son or other relatives on the female side exercising religious functions.

10. The rules of ceremonial purification are carefully obeyed.

Purification. Thus, if a person commit suicide on account of the misconduct of another, the offender is rigorously boycotted and is considered to bear the guilt (*katya*) of the death. The same is the case with a man who has killed a cow, buffalo, or cat. The impurity after child-birth lasts for ten days. The death impurity lasts for ten days, except in the case of infants, when it is reduced to three days. The period of menstrual impurity extends to five days. The impurity due to death, child-birth, and menstruation is removed by the performance of the stated ceremonies, and by bathing after the expiration of the fixed period. But in the case of impurity due, as above described, to suicide or the killing of a cow, the matter is much more serious. The offender in order to purify himself is obliged to bathe in the Ganges, to feed the clansmen and Brāhmans, to perform the marriage ceremony of the Tulasi plant and the Sālagrāma, or to pay all the expenses of the marriage of a pair of poor children in the caste. The interdict lasts until this expiation is undergone.

11. Dāngis are Hindus and worship all the ordinary deities, such as Rāmachandra, Krishna, Mahādeva, Durga, etc. They also worship the village godlings.

Religion. Thus Sitala is worshipped in the months of Asārḥ, Kuār, and Chait, with an offering of boiled rice and cakes, pice and cowries; the food is taken by a Brāhman, the cash by a Māli. Hardaul, the cholera

godling, is worshipped in Asârh, and during epidemics of the disease. His offerings are cakes, sweetmeats, and packets of betel. All these things, except the cakes, are taken by a Brâhman. Sîtala has usually a regular masonry shrine, while Hardaul has only a platform. These deities are chiefly worshipped by women and children, adult males seldom visit their shrines. At marriages they propitiate the sainted dead, whom they call *deva pitra*, but they have no definite idea of their nature or functions. An old snake represents Bhûmiya or the godling of the hamlet, and is worshipped in the month of Asârh (June—July). Their sacred trees are the *pîpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) and the *chhonkar* (*Prosopis spicigera*). Evil spirits (*bhût, pret*) are propitiated in cases of sickness supposed to be due to demoniacal agency. It is said that Brâhmans have no objection to eating *pakkiroti* from the hands of Dângis. Their priests are Dûbê or Twâri Brâhmans, and are received on the same footing as other Brâhmans. Sometimes they have a Guru in addition to a Purohit; sometimes the same man fulfils both functions. They have a special festival known as the *maur chhût* or “loosing of the marriage crown,” when in the month of Bhâdon the marriage crown of a pair who have been married during the year is thrown into the water. The only festival at which drunkenness is permitted is the Holi. The cows of the family are worshipped at the Diwâh and horses at the Dasahra.

12. Oaths are made in the name of the Ganges and the Tulasi plant; in the name of the gods; by holding a *lota* full of Ganges water; by holding a son or grandson in the arms; by going to a shrine and opening the door at the time of swearing. Taking a false oath involves loss of property, disease, and death. Exorcism of evil spirits is in the hands of the Syâna, or “cunning man.” Sickness due to the Evil Eye is relieved by waving some mustard and salt round the head of the patient, and then throwing it into the fire.

13. Meat is forbidden; some will not eat onions. They will not touch a Bhangi or Basor, or a person guilty of Hatya, as above described. Women are not allowed to touch the Sâlagrâma, and children under ten are not permitted to join in any religious celebration. They observe the usual taboo against the wife calling her husband by his name. It is said that at the Akhtij festival, on the third of the light half of Baisâkh, the wife, in order to bring luck on the house, is obliged to

call her husband once by his name. They abstain from wine, the flesh of monkeys, beef, pork, flesh of cloven-footed and uncloven-footed animals, fowls, fish, and all kinds of vermin. The head of the family does not eat the *baingan* or egg-plant (*Solanum melongena*) from Asârh till the Deouthân feast in Kârttik, and this vegetable is not eaten on the eleventh day of the light and dark fortnights in each month. Women and men eat apart, and before eating two morsels are offered to the gods with folded hands, and a libation of water is poured on the ground. The use of intoxicating drugs is not forbidden, but excess use of them is considered disgraceful.

Salutation. 14. Their form of salutation is *Râm!*
Râm! with the hand raised to the forehead.

Food. 15. They will eat close to Ahîrs, but not out of the same dish. They will take food cooked by a Brâhman and will drink water from the hands of a Mâli, Kâchhi, Dhîmar, or Nâu. They will not smoke out of the pipe of a Basor, Bhangi, or Chamâr.

Occupation. 16. The Dângis are ordinary cultivators and practise no handicrafts.

Distribution of the Dângi according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.								Number.
Shâhjahanpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
Jhânsi	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,186
Jâloun	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	74
Lalitpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	94
TOTAL								2,363

Darvesh.—A general Persian word for a *faqir*. Mr. Platts derives it from the Zend root *drigh*, "to be poor, to beg," and compares the Sanskrit *darbh*, root *drbh* and *daridra*. The term in these Provinces does not seem to denote a special caste; but Mr. Ibbetson¹ notices in the Panjab that there seems to be a colony of people of this name, who cultivate land, play musical instruments, beg, make ropes, go to a house where there has been a death and

¹ *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 528.

chant the praises of the deceased, hang about mosques, and so forth. They are hardly ascetics, yet the small number of women seems to show that they have not yet formed into a separate caste, and are still recruited from outside.

Distribution of the Darvesh according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Farrukhabâd . . .	390	Allahâbâd . . .	13
Mainpuri . . .	2	Jaunpur . . .	75
Etâwah . . .	3	Sitapur . . .	498
Pilibhit . . .		Kheri . . .	92
		TOTAL . . .	1,076

Daryadâsi.—A Vaishnava sect in the Ghâzipur district, founded by one Darya Dâs, a Vaishnava mendicant of the Koeri caste, whose followers now number 2,310.

Darzi.—(Persian *darz*, "a seam") the tailor caste: pedantically known as Kharyât (Arabic *khayât*, "to sew").—The caste is purely occupational and consists of a Hindu as well as a Muhammadan branch. Like all similar so-called castes it shows a tendency to break up into endogamous occupational branches, such as the Rafugar or darning of old clothes, the Khamadoz or tent-maker, and the Dastarband or maker of the elaborate turbans, such as are worn by office clerks and native servants. The patron saint of the Muhammadan branch is Ibrahim or Abraham, who, according to them, practised the craft. In the month of Sâwan they make offerings to him of rice stew (*pulâo*) and cakes. These Musalmân Darzis take the titles of Shaikh and Khalîfa.

2. The Hindu Darzis are made up, as is shown by their exogamous sub-divisions, of various elements. Thus, among the five hundred and twenty-six sections of the Hindu and one hundred and forty-six of the Muhammadan branch, we find the names of many well-known tribes and castes, such as Agariya, Agarwâla, Atishbâz, Bâchhal, Baddhik, Baid, Bais, Baiswâr, Bâmbhan, Baniyâna, Bargûjar, Benbans, Bhât, Chamâr, Chandeli, Chaubân, Châtri,

Dhānuk, Gūjar, Gaur, Jādon, Jaurwār, Kachhwāhiya, Kāyasth, Kharwār, Koli, Marātha, Mukeri, Ojha, Panwār, Rājput, Rāthaur, Raghubansi, Sakarwār, Solankhi, Sūrajbansi, Taga, Tānk, Tomar, and Turkiya. With these are many local titles, such as Bareli, Bathmi, or Srivātsav, Bhadwariya, Bhāgalpuriya, Dilliwal, Hardwariya, Jaiswār, Jalālpuriya, Kānpuriya, Mathur or Mathuriya, and Sarwariya. The Kāyasth caste has contributed many recruits to them who call themselves Sribāstab or Sribāstak Kāyasths from Dundiya Khera, the head-quarters of the Bais Rājputs. The name is derived from the town of Srāvasti, now Sahet Mahet in the Gonda district. In Gahwāl the Hindu Darzi is known as Bora, most of whom seem to be of the Dom tribe. In the Western Districts their endogamous sub-divisions are Rāthaur, Mathuriya, Mahor, and Saksena (from Sankisa): of these the Rāthaur, who claim descent from the Rājput tribe of that name, are the highest, and Mathuriya and Mahor, who are often contemptuously termed Chanar Sujiya or Chamārs' tailors, are the lowest. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring, their sub-divisions are Sribāstav, Nāmdao, Tānchara, Dhanesh, Panjābi, Gaur, Katak, and Saksena. Among sections locally important we find the Zahūri of Sahāranpur: the Chaubān and Jogi of Muzaffarnagar: the Sadiqi of Sītapur: the Turkiya of Kheri, and the Pīrzāda of Gonda. The Musalmān Darzis follow the ordinary rules of Muhammadan exogamy; but it is said that there is now-a-days a tendency to replace these by the usual standard Hindu formula. Widows remarry by the *sagāi* or *kāj* form, and the levirate is optional.

3. Though most of the Darzis in the east of the Province profess to be Sunni Muhammadans, they still cling to many Hindu usages. They worship *Kālīka*, Bhawāni, and the Pānchopīr, among whom they particularly reverence Ghāzi Miyān.¹ These are worshipped in the month of Jeth, when the wedding of Ghāzi Miyān is commemorated. The offerings to them consist of rich cakes (*malīda*), bread, fowls, sweetmeats, melons, cucumbers, gram-flour, and cakes made of pulse and pumpkin (*konhrauri*). They bury their dead in the usual Muhammadan form, and lay offerings to the spirits of their deceased ancestors at the 'Id and Shab-1-barāt. They are said to eat beef

¹ In Gujerāt on the sixth day of the birth a pair of scissors covered with cloth is laid down, and the child made to bow to them.—*Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 72.

more freely than ordinary Muhammadans of their class. Those who are Hindus follow the rites and customs of the higher castes.

4. The ordinary Darzi is a very low-paid and hard-worked craftsman. According to Mr Hoey¹ in Lucknow the rate for making men's jackets (*angarkha*) is from three to eight annas according as the work is plain or more or less ornamented. for men's drawers (*mardāna pāč-jāma*) one and-a-half to two annas. coats (*kurto*) one and-a-half annas: jackets (*salāka*) one and-a-half annas. The only articles of female apparel made by them are drawers (*pāčjāma*), which are either of the ordinary tight pattern (*churidār*), or wide with gussets (*kalidār*), such as are worn by dancing women and servants. Some are master-tailors, and these, according to Mr. Hoey, make as much profit by each workman as his daily wages, one and-a-half annas to three annas *per diem*. Then women are said to be constantly divorced, and there are few women who have not changed, husbands more than once.

5 The occupation is an ancient one. In the vocabulary of Amara Sinha there are two words for workers with a needle—*tunnavāya*, "or those who darn" (the modern Rafugai), and the other the *sauchika* (represented by the modern Sūji), a general tailor. The profession of the latter was of sufficient importance to necessitate the establishment of a special tribe and a mixed class. The lawful issue of Vaisyas by a Sūdra woman were, according to the ancient law book of Usanas, destined to live by it and were called Sauchi or "needle-men". The occupation is a poor one and held rather in contempt. The village proverb runs,—*Darji ka pūt jub tak jīta tab tak sila*—"the tailor's brat will do nothing but sew all his life long." Another is,—*Darzi ki sūi khabhi tāsh men, kabhī tāt men*—"the tailor's needle now in embroidery, now in canvass."

¹ *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures*, 100.

² *Rajendra Lal Mitra, Indo-Aryans*, 1, 184.

Distribution of Dazis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Chhipra	Kaithya	Mathur- ya	Nandoo- bana	Rathaur.	Saksena	Sre- bastab.	Others	Muham- madans	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	123	...	...	...	...	8	.	89	27	247
Bahāranpur	789	...	...	...	...	...	..	1,079	1,170	3,038
Muzaffarnagar	1,032	...	...	.	.	...	...	727	2,487	4,246
Meerut	..	...	...	..	.	...	...	364	9,385	9,749
Bulandshahr	...	35	10	...	33	...	..	2,265	2,287	4,610
Aligarh	..	.	...	...	238	...	...	4,811	132	5,181
Mathura	1	..	70	...	16	...	.	3,220	125	3,432
Agra	254	12	66	258	842	..	...	2,940	80	4,452
Farrukhabād	...	889	88	...	...	563	69	43	2,666	4,323
Mainpuri	17	564	674	...	230	127	154	1,625	49	3,340
Bidwah	...	927	602	41	12	135	550	606	98	3,974
Bāh	...	476	454	...	735	243	2	1,170	515	3,595
Barilly	...	1,733	..	.	...	29	214	1,603	3,896	7,465

Distribution of Darzis according to the Census of 1901—contd.

Districts.	Chhip.	Kaithya	Nathur- iya	Namdeo- bansi.	Rathaur.	Saksena.	Sr- bistab.	Others.	Muham- madana.	Total.
Balla	2,503	2,503
Gorakhpur	173	120	8,273	8,566
Basti	34	338	3	8,765	9,140
Azamgarh	5,416	5,416
Terai	...	162	..	..	...	...	...	194	810	1,166
Lucknow	13	...	...	580	201	3,362	4,166
Unao	...	30	...	...	...	1	2,359	373	1,799	4,563
Rae Bareilly	...	17	...	6	...	..	1,625	577	3,417	5,643
Sitapur	...	93	...	..	...	132	412	64	6,884	7,585
Hardoi	...	132	...	...	...	...	16	157	5,579	5,885
Kheri	...	157	..	...	...	6	212	204	6,025	7,304
Fatehabad	111	47	4,938	5,086
Gonda	824	...	8,640	9,464

Dasnâmi.—An order of the Gusâins. The word means “the ten names,” and is derived from their practice of affixing a special name to define the endogamous sections. The term Sannyâsi properly means a person who is undergoing the stage (*asrama*) of meditation and abandonment of the world prescribed by the early law-givers. But it more specially means a follower of the reformer Sankara Achârya. He is said to have had four pupils, from whom ten orders were derived. Padaman Achârya founded the Tîratha and Asrama classes; Sarûpa Achârya the Vana and Aranya; Tainaka or Tank Achârya the Giri, Sâgara and Parvata; Prithodar or Prithivi Achârya the Puri, Bhârati and Saraswati. The lists, however, disagree in the enumeration of the ten classes. In these Provinces they are usually given as Tîratha; Asrama; Vana; Aranya; Saraswati; Puri; Bhârati; Giri; Parvata, and Sâgara. Mr. MacLagan, writing of the Panjâb, says:—“According to some the order is divided into four divisions (called *math*, “the hut of an ascetic”), the Joshi Math, containing the Giri, Puri, and Bhârati; the Sangri Math, containing the Vana, Aranya, and Tîratha; the Narâgani Math, containing the Parvata and Asrama; the Brahmanachâri Math, containing the Saraswati and Dandi. The fact that there are ten groups of Sannyâsis is well known, but different versions are given of the names. Of eight lists which I have before me from different parts of the Province, the Giri, Puri, Aranya, and Bhârati appear in all; but one or other of the following names, Astâwar; Jati; Bodla; Dandi; Datta; Achârya; Kar; Nirambh, or Pari, is often substituted for one or other of the remaining class names. According to some accounts only eight of the classes are really Sannyâsis, the Bhârati being Jogis and the Dandis Vaishnavas. Three classes only, the Nirambh, Asrama, and Saraswati, are allowed to wear or use arms. Five of the sub-divisions are said to be recruited from Brâhmans alone, *viz.*, the Saraswati, Achârya, Aranya, Vana, and Anandi, the others being open to the public. A man of any caste may become a Sannyâsi, but in practice the order is made up of Brâhmans and Khatriis mainly, and according to some the true Sannyâsi will partake of food only in the house of a Brâhman or a Khatri.”¹

¹ Panjâb Census Report, 112.

Distribution of Dasnami Gurdwās according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehla Dūn . . .	158	Lalitpur . . .	25
Sahāranpur . . .	5	Benares . . .	1,899
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1,119	Minzapur . . .	4,258
Meerut . . .	5,083	Jaunpur . . .	3,638
Bulandshahr . . .	2,371	Ghāzipur . . .	2,891
Aligarh . . .	996	Ballia . . .	3,804
Agra . . .	1,124	Gorakhpur . . .	7,010
Farrukhābād . . .	399	Basti . . .	2,693
Mainpuri . . .	1,159	Kumana . . .	2,944
Etāwah . . .	277	Turai . . .	724
Etah . . .	1,315	Lucknow . . .	738
Bareilly . . .	4,023	Unāo . . .	2,289
Bijnor . . .	667	Rāo Barah . . .	2,521
Budāun . . .	2,755	Sitapur . . .	4,414
Morādābād . . .	2,018	Hardoī . . .	1,128
Shāhjahanpur . . .	1,483	Kheī . . .	3,631
Filibhit . . .	1,522	Fazābād . . .	5,371
Cawnpur . . .	1,335	Gonda . . .	11,478
Fatehpur . . .	709	Bahrāich . . .	3,634
Bānda . . .	296	Sitapur . . .	2,048
Hamirpur . . .	438	Partābgarh . . .	1,307
Allahābād . . .	1,061	Bārabankī . . .	4 006
Jhānsi . . .	279	TOTAL	103,320
Jālaun . . .	377	Males . . .	55,347
		Females . . .	47,973

Dhākara ; Dhākra.—A sept of Rājputs who have been identified with the Takoraioi of Ptolemy.¹ To the west of the Province

¹ J. W. McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, 378.



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Distribution of the Dhākara Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Agra	6,178	Pilibhit	2
Farrukhābād	170	Cawnpur	25
Mainpuri	1,432	Allahābād	3
Etāwah	957	Jālaun	150
Etah	494	Lalitpur	2
Bareilly	3	Basti	11
Budāun	289	Sitapur	29
Morādābād	37	Hardoi	1,101
Shāhjahānpur	22	Kheri	47
		TOTAL	11,696

Dhālgar—(Sans: *dhālakāra*).—A small occupational caste who make leather shields, a profession now almost extinct. They are allied to the Dabgar (*q. v.*). The Census Returns show their sections as Bankar, Benbansi, Daras, Dhaba, Koliwāla, Sribāstav, and Phādu.

Distribution of the Dhālgars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS	Number.
Faizābād	40
Gonda	5
TOTAL	45

Dhāngar.—A Dravidian tribe found in some of the eastern districts of the Province.¹ They are only shown in Gorakhpur, but there are certainly a few in the south of Muzaffarpur, who are, however, possibly not regular residents. According to Colonel Dalton

¹ In Central India a common name for them is Hatkar. The tale runs that a Dhāngar of the Mughal Viceroy's body-guard used to salute his master every day, but never to wait after he made his bow. In spite of remonstrances he continued the practice, and as a punishment the Viceroy ordered the door through which the Dhāngar came to be closed with swords. The Dhāngar regardless of wounds passed on and made his bow. The Viceroy was so pleased that he called him Hatkar or "stubborn."—*Berār Gazetteer*, 200 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 66.

Distribution of the Dhākara Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—concd.

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Agra	6,178	Pilibhit	8
Farrukhābād	170	Cawnpur	25
Mainpuri	1,432	Allahabād	8
Etāwah	957	Jālaun	150
Etah	494	Lalitpur	2
Bareilly	3	Basti	11
Budāun	269	Sitapur	29
Morādābād	37	Hardoi	1,101
Shāhjahānpur	22	Kheri	47
		TOTAL	11,695

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Distribution of the Dhulgars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS	Number
Faizābād	40
Gonda	5
TOTAL	45

Dhāngar.—A Dravidian tribe found in some of the eastern districts of the Province¹. They are only shown in Gorakhpur, but there are certainly a few in the south of Mirzapur, who are, however, possibly not regular residents. According to Colonel Dalton

¹ In Central India a common name for them is Hātka. The tale runs that a Dhāngar of the Mughal Viceroy's body-guard used to salute his master every day, but never to wait after he made his bow. In spite of remonstrances he continued the practice, and as a punishment the Viceroy ordered the door through which the Dhāngar came to be closed with swords. The Dhāngar regardless of wounds passed on and made his bow. The Viceroy was so pleased that he called him *Hātka* or "stubborn."—*Lérar Gazetteer*, 200 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 56.

"the Khurnkh or Orâons of Chutia Nâgpur are the people best known in many parts of India as Dhângar, a word that from its apparent derivation (*dhâng* or *dhâng*, "a hill") may mean any hill-man, but amongst several tribes of the southern tributary Mahâls the terms Dhângar and Dhângarin mean the youth of the two sexes both in highland and lowland villages, and it cannot be considered the national designation of any peculiar tribe."¹ According to Mr. Risley, Mr. Oldham says in a note on some historical and ethnical aspects of the Bardwân district that the Mâlê Pabariyas call their men of fighting age Dhângar or Dhângariya. The Mâlê are cognates of the Orâons, the typical Dhângar labourers of Chota Nâgpur, so that on this showing the word may well be nothing more than the Orâon for an adult. According to another interpretation the name has reference to the fact that persons working as Dhângars receive the bulk of their wages in unhusked rice (*dhân*).² In Bilâspur, in the Central Provinces, they are regarded as a sub-division of the Kanwar, who are the largest sections of the aboriginal population next to the Gonds, and have there taken to wearing the Brâhmanical thread.³ In Sambalpur they are said to be emigrants from Chota Nâgpur,⁴ and in Sâranggarh they act as weavers and village watchmen.⁵ M. St. Martin very doubtfully connects them with the Tânk Râjputs, the Tangana of the Mahâbhârata, and the Tanganoi or Ganganoi of Ptolemy.⁶ The people known as Dhângar, in the Dakkhin,⁷ whose name is derived by Dr. J. Wilson from the Sanskrit *dheṇukâra*, "dealer in cows," are described as a quiet and innocent race of people who wander about with their flocks and herds. Their religion, manners, and language are to a great extent like those of the Kunbi, but the temples at which they worship are mere piles of large unhewn stones. The founder of the Ho'kar family of Mâlwa sprang from this race.⁸

2. The Mirzapur Dhângars say that the Munda Kols, the Khariyas⁹ of Chota Nâgpur, the Guriyas, Tribal organisation. Dhângars and Urâin or Orâon are all

¹ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 245.

² *Tribes and Castes*, I, 219.

³ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 458.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 468.

⁶ J. W. McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, 376.

⁷ There is an account of these Bombay Dhângars in the *Gazetteer*, XIV, 259, 29.

⁸ *Ibid.* I, 222 : III, 225.

⁹ For these people, see Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 466.

endogamous divisions of the same race. They name eight exogamous septs, most or all of which are certainly of totemistic origin. Thus *Iha* is said to mean a kind of fish which this sept does not eat: *Kajur* is the name of a jungle herb which members of this sub-division do not use: *Tirik*, which is possibly the same as the *Tirki* or bull sept of the *Orâons*. In *Chota Nâgpur* members of this sept cannot touch any cattle after their eyes open.¹ On the other hand, Colonel Dalton describes the *Tirki* sub-division as prohibited from eating young mice (*tirki*).²

The *Lakara* sub-division, which is apparently identical with that called *Lakrar* among the *Orâons*, who must not eat tiger's flesh,³ derive their name in *Mirzapur* from the hyæna (*laka bagha*), which they will not hunt or kill. The *Bara* sept, who are evidently the same as the *Barar* of the *Orâons*, who will not eat from the leaves of the Bar tree (*Ficus Indica*), in *Mirzapur* will not cut this tree. The *Ekka* sept in *Mirzapur* say that the name means "leopard," which they will not kill. In *Chota Nâgpur* the same word is said to mean "tortoise," and to be a totemistic sept of *Orâons*. This is the *Ekhar* sept in Colonel Dalton's list.⁴ The *Tiga* sept, in *Mirzapur*, say they take their name from a jungle root of that name which they will not eat: but the *Orâon Dhângars* of *Bhâgalpur* have a *Tig* sept which they say means "monkey."⁵ The last of the *Mirzapur* septs is *Khâha*, which they say means "crow," a bird which they respect and will not injure. This is evidently the same as the *Kha-khar* sept of *Orâons*, who will not eat the crow.⁶ From all this the identity of the *Mirzapur Dhângars* with the *Bengal Orâons* is conclusively established. At the same time the diverging significance of these totemistic titles within a limited area is interesting. The Census lists supply a much more Hinduised set of sections including the *Beldâr*, *Belwâr*, *Benbansi*, *Janwâr*, *Jhuar*, *Panwâr*, and *Sribâstam*.

3. Colonel Dalton's description of the *Orâons* applies very closely to their cognates the *Mirzapur Dhângars*.
 Appearance. "Although the *Orâons* when young are pleasant to look upon from their good humoured and guileless expression,

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 227.

² *Descriptive Ethnology*, 254.

³ *Ibid.*, 254.

⁴ Risley, *loc. cit.*, I, 261. *Descriptive Ethnology*, 254.

⁵ Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 222.

⁶ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 254.

they are on the whole to be regarded as a dark complexioned and by no means well-favoured race. When we see numbers of them massed together in a market, the features we find to predominate are excess of jaws and mouth, thick lips pushed out by the projection of the jaws, a defect which age increases, the teeth becoming more and more porrect till they appear to radiate outwards from the upper jaw. The forehead is low and narrow, but not as a rule receding; and the eyes have nothing very peculiar about them, often bright and full, with long lashes and straight set, sometimes small and dim, but not oblique. These upper features give them a human and intelligent expression notwithstanding the Simian characteristic of the lower. There is the indentation usual in the Turanian races between the frontal and nasal bones, but the latter are more pronounced than we find them in the Lulitic tribes. The colour of the majority is darkest brown approaching to black.¹ Mr. Risley adds that no signs of Mongolian affinities can be detected in the relative positions of the nasal and malar bones; the average naso-malar index for a hundred Orâons, measured on the system recommended by Mr. Oldfield Thomas, comes to 113·6.²

4. The Mirzapur Dhângais say they emigrated from a place
 Traditions. named Barwa somewhere to the south about
 nine or ten generations ago. They say that they occupied a narrow valley called Sathorwa, where they used to beset and rob travellers. At last a General of the Emperor made terms with their leaders, Jura Mahto and Buddhu Bhagat, and on promise of giving them a rent-free estate (*jâgîr*) induced the tribe to lay down their arms, and then ordered a general massacre. The few survivors escaped to Mirzapur. These two leaders, Jura and Buddhu, are the deified heroes of the tribe. It is said that their heads spoke seven days after they were decapitated, and advised them to emigrate.

5. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) presided over by a
 Tribal council. hereditary president, the Chaudhari, which
 meets for caste business on occasions of marriages and deaths. For caste offences the punishment is usually the providing of a feast including rice, one or two goats and ten

¹ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 250.

² *Tribes and Castes*, II, 189.

The Orâons of Bengal are found to be extraordinarily fertile. They have 7,704 children in every 20,000 persons of both sexes—*Census Report*, 175.

bottles of liquor. If a girl intrigues with a clansman, her father has to provide two dinners to the clansmen, and she is then restored to caste. Her lover has to provide the same feast if he seduces an unmarried girl in the tribe. The pair are then married. If a girl is detected in an intrigue with an outsider she is permanently expelled, and so with a man who intrigues with a strange woman.'

6. The totemistic septs are exogamous, and in addition the children of the mother's brother, the sister and father's sister are barred. Polygamy is permitted only when the first wife is barren, and then the consent of the Chaudhari and clansmen is required. The marriage age is ten or twelve for boys and girls. The bride-price is two rupees, and is invariably fixed by caste custom. No physical defect subsequently ascertained can annul a marriage; but both parties are carefully examined by the relatives before the engagement is made. A man may divorce his wife if he discovers that she is a witch, and habitual adultery on the part of husband and wife justifies divorce with the leave of the council. Women who have been divorced can marry again, but the general feeling is against the practice, and it is not allowed in respectable families. The institution of the Bachelor Hall, described by Colonel Dalton among the Orâons,¹ does not prevail among the Mirzapur Dhângars.

7. The levirate prevails, and a widow can marry an outsider by *sagâi* only when her younger brother-in-law gives up his claim to her. The only ceremony is that the lover comes with a yellow sheet to the widow's house. She puts it on and comes home with him, when he gives a feast to his clansmen, and it is essential that the cooking should be done by the new-made wife. By remarriage a widow loses all right to the property of her first husband.

In the case of the levirate the property of the first husband passes to the levir, and when they grow up, the sons by the first marriage are entitled to a share in all the property of their step-father on the same scale as his sons. There is no fiction of attributing the sons of the levir to his deceased elder brother.

8. Adoption is unknown. The heirs of a man are his sons: but the eldest son gets something more than the others. When the father and sons live joint-

Succession.

¹ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 247.

ly and distribution takes place after the father's death, all the sons share equally, no matter whether any part of the property may have been acquired by any particular son.

Grandsons get their proportion of the share that would have fallen to their fathers. The widow has a sort of life interest in her husband's estate, but is liable to expulsion for unchastity. Daughters have no right of succession. But a girl who is ill-treated by her husband is entitled to return to her own home and be maintained by her brothers.

9. The birth ceremonies resemble those among Bhuiyârs (*q. n.*).

Domestic ceremonies. Birth. On the sixth day the *chhatthi* ceremony is performed, and after this the mother is pure.

The husband does not cohabit with his wife for two months after her confinement.

10. The betrothal is solemnized as among the Bhuiyas by the exchange of platters of liquor between the parents of the parties. After this both salute in the form known as *Râmrahâi*.¹ Notice is given of the day of the ceremony. This is called *din dharna*. The pair revolve round a branch of the *siddh* tree (*Hardwickia binata*), and a water jar (*kalsa*) fixed in the marriage shed (*mânro*). Before the procession starts, the bridegroom's mother sprinkles some water over him with a branch of rice stalks, and waves the water jar over his head to keep off evil spirits. The binding part of the ceremony is the rubbing of red lead by the bridegroom on the head of the bride. After marriage the bridegroom has to eat rice and pulse (*khichari*) with the bride, and refuses to do so until he gets a calf or eight annas from his father-in-law. The bride walks behind the bridegroom on her way to his house, and is supposed to weep bitterly all the time. When she and her husband reach the door, they have to walk in over a series of baskets arranged in a double line, while the women sing the song of rejoicing (*sohar*). Then the bridegroom salutes his male relations outside the house. Inside, the bride, shading her breast with the corner of her sheet, touches the feet of the senior women, and they reply with the blessing *suââr akibât barhê*—"May your husband live long."

¹ According to the Bengal Returns the Orâon man marries earlier than any of the other Dravidians, nearly five years earlier than the Munda Kol. Thirteen and-a-half is the general marriage age for girls of the aboriginal tribes, but the Bhuiya, Orâon, Agariya, and Kurm give their daughters in marriage a little under thirteen years.—*Census Report*, 200.

11. The dead are cremated exactly as is done by the Bhuiyas ;
 after the mourners return from the cremation
 Death ceremonies. they come to the house of the deceased and
 there some butter is thrown on a fire lighted in the courtyard, and
 the mourners pass their hands through the smoke and rub their
 bodies. The ashes of the dead are thrown into a neighbouring
 stream. They have no idea of the careful preservation of the
 bones as described by Colonel Dalton among the Orâons.¹ On
 the day of the cremation all the women walk in a line to the river
 or tank close by. They are very careful not to touch each other
 with their toes, as they walk one after the other. The woman
 thus struck is believed to lose her son or husband during the
 year. When they arrive at the water the red powder is washed
 off the parting of the widow's hair. The chief mourner is impure
 for ten days, during which he places a leaf platter (*launa*) full of
 food daily on the road by which the deceased was removed for
 cremation. On the tenth day the male relatives shave and return
 to the house of the deceased, where the chief mourner sacrifices
 a pig in the name of the deceased, and cutting off its feet and
 snout buries them in the courtyard and covers them with a stone.
 Then striking this stone with another stone he says,—“I have
 buried you here, never to come out ; you are to rest here no matter
 how hard an exorciser (*Ojha*) or anyone else tries to wake you.”
 Then he pours some liquor over the stone. There is no priest
 employed in the funeral ceremony, and no formulae of any kind are
 recited.

12. The Dhângars in Mirzapur are nominally Hindus, but
 worship none of the regular Hindu deities.
 Religion. Their deities are Barna Bhawâni, a female,
 who may be the same as Barhona, a deity of the Kurs, identified
 with Varuna, the spirit of the waters,² and Goraiya Deva. Barna
 Bhawâni is worshipped by some once a year, by others four times a
 year with the sacrifice of a he-goat, a she-goat, and a pig. Goraiya
 is the god of cattle, and is worshipped every year on 15th Kârttik.
 A pig and a white and black cock are sacrificed to him in the cattle
 pen, and some liquor is poured on the ground. They carry on the
 usual worship of the village gods (*dik*) through the Baiga. When

¹ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 262.

² Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 231.

small-pox prevails the women worship Sītala Bhawāni. Her offering, which is conditional on the recovery of the child from the disease, consists of bread and a sort of sweetmeat (*halwa*). If the child recovers he wears all his life a silver image (*śirjana*) of the goddess, with her figure gilt, round his neck. All the worship, except that of the village gods, is done by the head of the household, and the worshippers consume the flesh of the victim.

13. In Bhādon they observe the Nāgpanchami by eating better food than usual, but they do not make any special worship of the snake as Hindus do.

Festivals.

In Māgh they have the Khichari, when they eat pulse, parched grain, and sesamum. They do not light the Holi fire, but they celebrate the Phagua by drunken revelry and foul abuse of women, particularly of the brother's wife (*bhaujāi*).

14. Old wells and tanks are the special abode of malevolent ghosts.

Demonology and ancestor worship.

These are propitiated through the Ojha, who is believed to have special control over them.

They have no special ancestor worship, because they consider the spirits finally disposed of by the pig-sacrifice already described.

15. The women tattoo themselves only on the arms. In this they

Social customs

differ from the Oriāns, who are tattooed in childhood with the three marks on the brow

and two on each temple that distinguish the majority of the Munda women.¹ There is no special pattern and nothing resembling a tribal tattoo. The women wear bracelets (*mathiya*), pewter anklets (*pairi*), necklets (*hansli*), ear ornaments (*utarna*), bead necklaces (*guriya*). They eat beef and pork, and almost any meat except that of the lizard, jackal, alligator, and monkey. They use liquor and smoking and chewing tobacco. The use of liquor they believe keeps off malaria. They will not touch or name the wife of the elder brother. They treat their women fairly well, consult them in family affairs, and follow their advice. Their business is generally to work as ploughmen. Their wages are four *seers* of grain for each working day, a rupee and-a-half at the end of the agricultural year, one blanket and half a *bigla* of rent-free land. They also get food on the Panchayān, Khichari, and Phagua festivals. They have no regular communal organization, but they are

¹ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 251.

very clannish and afraid of strangers. In Mirzapur they are little better than a miserable, depressed tribe of field serfs.

Distribution of the Dhângars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Benbansi.	Janwâr.	Panwâr.	Others.	TOTAL.
Gorakhpur . . .	218	292	200	73	783

Dhânuk¹ (Sans. *dhanuska*, "an archer"), a low tribe who work as watchmen, musicians at weddings, and their women as midwives. They are most numerous in the Agra division, but are found all over the Province except in the Benares, Gorakhpur, and Faizâbâd divisions, and in the hills. Their origin is very uncertain. According to Dr. Buchanan² they are a "pure agricultural tribe, who from their name, implying archers, were probably in former times the militia of the country, and are perhaps not essentially different from the Kurmis; for any Jaiswâr Kurmi, who from poverty sells himself or his children is admitted among the Dhânuks. All the Dhânuks were at one time probably slaves, and many have been recruited to fill up the military ranks—a method of recruiting that has been long prevalent in Asia, the armies of Parthians having been composed almost entirely of slaves, and the custom is, I believe, still pretty general among the Turks. A great many of the Dhânuks are still slaves; but some annually procure their liberty by the inability of their masters to maintain them, and by their unwillingness to sell their fellow-creatures. I have already mentioned that the Dhanushikas or Dhamin Brâhmins are probably the original priests of the tribe." Mr. Risley³ admits that the only evidence from Bihâr in support of Dr. Buchanan's theory of the connection between the Dhânuks and the Kurmis is that, according to some authorities, the Chhulatiya sub-caste is also known by the name of Jaiswâr. Considering, however, how widespread the term Jaiswâr is for the sub-castes and sections of the minor castes, this piece of evidence is of little value.

¹ Almost entirely based on notes by Bâbu Gopâl Prasad, Naib Tahasildâr of Phaphând, and Chaudhari Darahan Singh, of Aurâya, Etâwah district.

² *Eastern India*, I, 166.

³ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, 220, sqq.

2. At the last Census the Dhānuks were recorded in the following important sub-castes:—Dhākara, Dusādh,
Internal structure. Kaithiya, Kathariya, Kori, and Rāwat. The

complete lists show three hundred and twenty sections of the usual, mixed type, some the names of well known tribes, others of local derivation. A full list received from Etāwah names twenty sub-divisions—Laungbarsa (the name means “raining cloves,” and is said to arise from the custom prevailing in this sub-division of tying a string of cloves round the necks of the bride and bridegroom during marriage. They do not, however, appear to treat the clove otherwise, with any particular respect, and do not forbear from naming, eating, burning, or otherwise destroying it), Hazāri, Kathariha, Lakariha, Bhuseli, Garuhaiya, Hāthichighar, Gaipetha, Atariha, Pichhauriha, Jashar, Jalāliya, Kachhwāha, Jageli, Ruriha, Kharaiha, Tahelē, Dunhān, Bagheli. Sir H. M. Elliot gives the seven sub-divisions as follows:—Laungbasta (probably the same as the Laungbarsa of the Etāwah list), Mathuriya, Kathariya, Jaiswār, Magahi, Dojwār Chhilatiya. In the east of the Province another list¹ gives Jaiswār, DhānuK, Magahi, Dojwār and Chhilatiya. The Dhānuks have no tradition of the origin of these names, and it is dangerous to speculate on such a subject. But there seems no doubt that the Kathariya or Kathariha are so-called because they make a sort of mat called *kathri*, which is one of the special handicrafts of this sub-division to the present day. The Lakariha and Bhuseli have obviously something to do with wood and chaff. The Hathichighar are elephant keepers; the Kachhwāha and Baghelē must have taken their names from the similar Rājput tribes; while the Jaiswār and Magahi are clearly local names derived from the town of Jais and the country of Magadha, respectively. There is little or no resemblance between these lists and the Bihār list given by Mr. Risley, a sufficient proof, if proof were needed, of the astonishing facility by which tribes of this social status modify their internal structure.

3. The rule of exogamy as stated by the Dhānuks of Etāwah is that (a) no man or woman can marry in their
Marriage rules. own sub-division; (b) no child can be married in a family in which the father or mother have been married. The age of marriage is usually between seven and eleven. No one can have more than two wives at the same time. Unchastity on the part of an unmarried girl is punished by a fine imposed on the

¹ Buchanan, loc. cit.

parents by the tribal council. A man can get rid of his wife for adultery, but a wife cannot abandon her husband for this cause. Divorced women and widows can be remarried by the form known as *dharauna* or *dharaullh*. The levirate under the usual restrictions is permitted. If a widow marry an outsider she loses all right to the goods of her first husband. If he leave children they are his heirs; if he dies childless his elder brother, or if he himself be the eldest, then the brother next to him in age succeeds. If she marry the levir he takes the goods of his deceased elder brother unless he has left children. There is no fiction that children by the levir are attributed to his late brother.

4. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy. The mother is

Birth.

attended by some old woman of the tribe.

The only purificatory ceremony is the *chhathi* on the sixth day after delivery. There is no trace of the *souvade*. The only observance at adoption is the feeding of the clansmen.

5. The marriage ceremonies are of the common low caste type.

Marriage.

In the respectable form (*shidi*, *broth*) the ceremony, the binding part of which is the

revolutions (*bhanwar*), is done at the house of the bride; in *dola* it is done at that of the bridegroom.

6. They burn their adult and bury the unmarried dead. The

Death.

ashes are thrown into any river or stream.

They perform *siddha* for the repose of the souls of the dead. The malevolent dead are propitiated in the months of Māgh and Bhādon. The service is done in the daytime but secretly with all the doors closed. A fire is lighted and to it cakes (*pūri*) are offered, and then eaten by the worshippers. On this occasion if the house-holder be a rich man, he entertains the brotherhood; if he is poor, he feeds only his sister's or daughter's husband—a custom which may be a survival of descent in the female line. The ashes of the fire made on this occasion are carefully preserved, and if any sickness come upon the household during the year, they are rubbed on the part affected, and a vow is made to repeat the service when the next anniversary comes round. During the first fifteen days of the month of Kuār water is thrown daily on the ground, in honour of the dead, and flour, butter, etc., are given to Brāhmans that they by consuming them may convey them to the hungry dead in the other world. A fire is lighted and cakes offer-

ed to it, and a piece of a cake is attached to the wall in the place where marks have been made representing the deceased ancestors of the family.

7. The Dhānuks are Hindu by religion and are classed as Sāktas because they are worshippers of Devi. But
 Religion. none of them are ever regularly initiated.

They make pilgrimages to the tomb of Madār Sāhib at Makhanpur, in the Cawnpur District, and in the month of Māgh offer a sort of pudding (*malida*) and money which are taken by the Khādims in charge of the shrine. They also worship the two Miyāns: the great or Bara Miyān has his tomb at Jalesar, in the Etah District, and the little or Chhota at Amroha, in Morādābād. These saints are worshipped after child-birth; if the child happened to be a son they offer a he-goat; for a daughter the offering is a kind of cake (*gulgula*). These are consumed by the worshippers, and so is the goat, which is the right of Devi. They are firm believers in the demoniacal theory of disease. In such cases a sorcerer is sent for; he sits down with a broom in his hand, which he waves while he smokes a *hugga*, and thus drives off the evil spirit which is the cause of the mischief. In cases of disease caused by the Evil Eye the procedure is similar with this addition that some chillies are waved seven times round the head of the patient and then thrown on the fire, when the evil influence incontinently disappears in the stench. Another plan is for the magician to summon one of his domesticated spirits, which puts him under its influence, and he is then able to announce with certainty the evil spirit which has affected the patient. Another approved plan is to burn a hair from the patient's head, and this invariably gives relief.

8. When they sink a well they erect an image of Hanumān near the spot, and on the completion of the work
 Agricultural customs. feed Brāhmins and distribute charity. Before sowing a little grain is sifted through a sieve, and when the work is done, the oxen are washed and the plough worshipped. Before the grain is garnered a little is given to the poor and to Brāhmins.

9. Dhānuks will eat mutton, pork, the flesh of the cloven-footed animals, and fish. They drink freely. They
 Social rules. will not eat the flesh of monkeys, beef, flesh of uncloven-footed animals, fowls, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, rats, vermin, or the 'leavings of other people. Their salutation is

Rām ! Rām ! They have the usual ceremonial taboos. Elder relatives are addressed not by their names but by their title of relationship. Younger persons and all male strangers are addressed by name. All female strangers are addressed by name when spoken to by women; but when men address them they call them "so-and-so's wife" or "so and-so's mother." If they are unmarried they are addressed by name. So a husband calls his wife "so-and-so's mother."

10. Their occupation is playing on trumpets at weddings and other occasions of festivity. They act as servants, day-labourers, village watchmen, and their women do midwifery. Some hold land as tenants and work as field labourers. Many receive a patch of land rent-free in lieu of wages.

Distribution of Dhānuks and their sub-castes by the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Dhokré	Dusādh.	Kathuya	Kathariya.	Kori.	Rawat	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn .		...	.	169	...	.	45	214
Sahāranpur . .	.	.	.		..	..	50	50
Muzaffarnagar .	...	.	.	.		..	...	...
Meerut . . .		..	..	...	13,758		11,263	25,021
Bulandshahr . .	..	...	.			..	1	1
Aligarh . . .	..		.	...	..	286	354	640
Mathura . . .	...	...		...	..		20	20
Agra . . .	216	.	...	222		158	1,150	1,744
Farrukhābād . .	..	.		8,094	..	227	12,524	15,845
Mainpur . . .	273	..	28	13,946	.		1,293	15,540
Etāwah . . .	554	..		8,829		423	6,897	16,703
Etah . . .	99	86	1,070	965	113	506	973	3,812
Bareilly . . .	..	1,832	...	...		372	309	2,603
Bijnor . . .	...	..	...	...		.	5	5
Shāhjahānpur . .	...	379	..	8,925	...	2,503	1,140	12,947
Filibhit . . .	...	190	5	2,133	...	1,929	327	4,574
Cawnpur . . .	...	.	...	439	3	.	19,452	19,894
Hamirpur . . .	..		..	...	...	...	..	1

Distribution of Dhânukes and their sub-castes by the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	Dhâkré	Dusâdh.	Kaithya	Kacharya.	Kori.	Kawat.	Others.	TOTAL.
Alahâbâd	4
Jhânsi	5	5	10
Jâlaun . . .	10	.	.	45	..	...	2,439	2,494
Lalitpur
Benares	5	5
Ghâzipur	1	1
Balâsa	1	1
Tarâi	2	..	92	5	99
Lucknow	1	...	..	..	.	788	789
Unâo . . .	296	..	.	...	...	...	5,213	5,509
Sitapur	467	...	..	2,235	2,702
Hardoi	8,808	...	...	3,314	11,402
Kheri	1,121	..	1,605	1,405	3,531
Faizâbâd	1	..	.	14	15
Bahrâch	16	16
Sultânpur	3	3
TOTAL . . .	1,448	2,475	1,103	48,446	13,874	7,551	71,336	146,189

Dhârhi (possibly from Sans. *dhrista*, "impudent"), a tribe of dancers and singers of whom there is a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch. They have been described under one of their many names, Kingariya or Kingiya, in another place. Another name for them is Pâwariya or Pâwanriya (from the foot (*pâw*) carpet (*pâwara*), they use. In the hills, though socially ranked with Doms, they do not belong to them, for they properly include only those Khasiyas who have been put out of caste for some offence or other and their offspring form a new caste with the special avocation of singing and dancing.

2. The Census lists show forty sections. Many of these are local

Internal structure. as Audhya, Balrâmpuri, Chaurasiya, Desi,

Gujarâti, Jaunpuri, Haripuriya, Kanaujiya, Madhesiya, Pachhwâhan, and Sarwariya. Others connect them with well-known castes or tribes, as Bânsphor, Boriya, Dhelfhor, Dusâdh, Ghosi, Kewat.

3. The Dhârhi has two distinct functions. In the first place he is a musician and singer, and appears at houses on occasions of festivity, such as a marriage or when a woman is purified after the birth pollution and rejoins the household. He and the women who accompany him, who are usually of equivocal reputation, sing and play the double drum (*mridang*) or the gutar (*tambûra*), for which he gets presents of grain, money or clothes. Secondly, the Hindu Dhârhi keeps swine and acts in many villages as the priest of the local god (*Gânvideola, deohâr*) cleans and plasters his platform, and takes anything in the way of an offering which is not consumed by the worshippers themselves.

4. The Dhârhi from his habits of begging and going about with women of bad character has rather an unsavoury reputation, and socially ranks very little above the Chamâr. They permit widow-marriage, divorce and remarriage of divorced women, but if a woman separate from her husband without cause she must repay through her second husband any charges which may have been incurred in her first marriage. Muhammadan Dhârlis have their marriages done, if they are well-off, by the Qâzi; if they are poor, by the village Dafâli.

The Hindu Dhârlis seldom or never employ a Brâhman except to take the auspices and fix a lucky day for the wedding. Two common proverbs show the opinion generally held of the Dhârhi—*Dena lena kâm Dom Dhârhiyon ka, muhabbat dusrî chiz hai.*—“Taking presents is the way of pimps and buffoons; true love is quite a different thing.” *Randi kî kamûrî, ya khâe Dhârhi, ya khâe gâri.* “The prostitute’s earnings go to the pimp or cabman.”

Distribution of Dhârlis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS	HINDUS.			Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
	Dusâdh.	Madhesya	Others.		
Bulandshahr	3	3
Mathura	5	5
Agra	86	86
Farrukhâbad	12	67	79

Distribution of Dhârhis according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	HINDUS			Muhamm- madans	TOTAL.
	Dusadh	Madhesya	Others		
Mainpur . . . .			..	16	16
Etah . . . .	..	...		32	32
Budâon . . . .	...	...	1	...	1
Shâhjahânpur . . . .	...	..	.	180	180
Cawnpur . . . .		...	...	38	38
Bânda . . . .	...	...	..	31	31
Hamîrpur . . . .	...	...	5	3	6
Allahâd . . . .	.	.	1	48	49
Jhânsi . . . .	...	...	...	2	2
Jâlaun . . . .	...	.		4	4
Benares . . . .	.		8	...	8
Ghâzipur . . . .			.	34	34
Gorakhpur	1,490	943	1,502	2	3,937
Basti . . . .	.	...	2,294	...	2,294
Azamgarh . . . .	...	17	54	.	71
Lucknow . . . .	.	...		107	107
Unâo . . . .	...	...	.	35	35
Râo Bareil . . . .	...	.	...	115	115
Sitapur . . . .	..	...	...	80	80
Hardoi . . . .	...	..	..	91	91
Kheri . . . .	...		...	128	128
Faizâbâd . . . .	..		..	36	36
Gonda	988	4,273	1,384	93	6,738
Bahrâich . . . .	..	.	2	5	7
Saltânpur . . . .		..	...	74	74
Partâbgarh . . . .	—	...	...	7	7
TOTAL	2,478	5,283	5,261	1,322	14,294



Dharkâr¹ (Hindi *dhar*, Sanskrit *dhara*, "a rope," *kâra*, "maker") a sub-caste of the Eastern Doms. They are also known as Bentbansi, because they work in cane (*bent*), which some corrupt into Benbansi or of the race of Râja Vena. Their sections in Muzapur are quite distinct from those recorded by Mr. Rasley in Bihar.² South of the Son there are four sections (*kurt*) which are exogamous: Ail, which is said to be the name of a fine kind of bamboo used in making winnowing fans, baskets, sieves, etc. Neoriya, said to be derived from *newar*, a young soft bamboo: Daumba, said to take its name from *dauriwa*, a strong hard bamboo used for baskets (*dauri*) which is not attacked by weevils. Nagarha, from *nagar*, a very high thick bamboo. These sections intermarry on equal terms, except the Ail, which is the highest, and with it the others practise hypergamy. This rule of exogamy is reinforced by the restriction against intermarrying in the family of the maternal uncle (*mimu*) and father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) for at least three generations. In Oudh the rule of exogamy is said to be that a man cannot marry the daughter of his sister and a son cannot be married in a family to which a bride has been given until three or four generations have passed. Two sisters cannot be married at the same time; but a man may marry the sister of his deceased wife. They also very often marry by exchanging sisters in the form known as Gurawat, the simplest form of marriage by purchase.³ North of the Son they name three sections which are endogamous—Benbans, Barua and Dom; but the Benbans have developed under the influence of Hinduism regular exogamous *gotras*, of which they know only two,—Bilkhariya and Matâi. To the whole tribe, as is shown more particularly in the sections south of the Son, the bamboo is a sort of totem and is treated with great respect.⁴

The Mirzapur Dharkârs say that when Parameswar created their ancestor he seated him under a bamboo and gave him the curved knife (*lânku*) with which he was to make his living by basket making, etc.

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Sanwal Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

² *Tribes and Castes*, II, App. 42.

³ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 390.

⁴ The bamboo is worshipped by some of the Chittagong Hill Tribes, Dalton, *Ethnology*, 109; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 290.

2. The tribal council (*pañchāyat*) with a permanent president

Tribal council.

(mahto) and an assistant (*dīuān*) is very powerful. The council hears the evidence and

gives its opinion, which may or not be accepted by the Mahto, who gives the final order. The usual punishment is an order to feed the clansmen for two days on goat's flesh and rice. For a second offence excommunication for twelve years is the sentence, and during this time, unless he make humble submission and receive pardon from the council, all marriages in his family are stopped, he is not allowed to eat or smoke with his clansmen, and cannot sit on the tribal mat (*tāt*) at meetings of the council. In Oudh, however, it would appear that they have no regularly constituted council. Whenever a case affecting caste discipline occurs, a meeting of the adult householders of the neighbourhood is convened: they appoint a Chairman for the meeting and decide the case. They have a sort of local organization (*eka*) for marriages, which generally take place within an assigned local area. They seldom go any considerable distance to find wives.¹

3. A man may have as many wives as he can afford: but monogamy is the rule. In Oudh they say that no

Marriage rules.

man can have more than seven wives at one

time; but it is needless to say that very few Dharkârs can afford more than one. If a man marries more than one wife, the senior wife (*jethī mehrāru*) rules the household. Concubinage and polyandry are prohibited. Women have considerable freedom, and intertribal fornication is visited by a fine of a two days' feast to the clansmen. The lover has to pay the girl's father in such cases eight rupees in cash and to give her mother a cloth—an arrangement so common apparently that there is a special name for it,—*māi kâpar*, or "the mother's cloth." He then feeds the council on goat's flesh and rice, and after this the young couple are recognized as man and wife. Dharkârs practise adult marriage, the age being seventeen or eighteen. The marriage is arranged by the father's sister's husband (*phūpha*) of the bridegroom. The bride-price paid by the boy's father is fixed—eight rupees in cash, one loin cloth (*dhotī*), and one hundred cakes (*pūri*). This is used in the marriage feast, and the cloth goes to the girl. The parties are so carefully examined before marriage that no physical defect subsequently ascertained is a bar to marriage. If the wife without reason shown to the satisfaction of the

¹ See instances of this collected by Westermarck, *loc cit*, 365, 37.

council refuse to live with her husband, her father has to refund the cash brideprice. If the husband refuses to keep his wife, the council will punish him and compel him to bring her home. If either husband or wife habitually commit adultery, the injured party may divorce the other, but before they can do so the case must be heard by the council and the Mahto must give his permission, which will not be granted unless the fact is proved by the evidence of eye-witnesses. If a woman is divorced, she may be remarried in the tribe by the form known as *sagdi* or *dharauna*. The children of a regular wife and a widow taken in *sagdi* rank equally as heirs. If a man keep a concubine or even eat from her hand, he is put out of caste and not restored till he gives a tribal feast. Illegitimate children follow the father, but such a child cannot eat or marry in the tribe. Only a widower can marry a woman by the *sagdi* form. He goes to the widow's house and proposes for her in a regular form—*hamâr ghar basâdê*, "make my home inhabited." Her father receives the same bride-price as in a regular marriage. Her father gives a feast and assembles the council. If at this meeting any person entitled to claim the right of the levirate comes forward and says,—"Why are you giving my woman to a stranger?" the council order her father to pay him the bride-price. Then her lover takes her home, puts red lead on her forehead and palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in her ears, and after feeding the clansmen on goat's flesh and rice the connection is legalised. The levirate is recognised under the usual restrictions, and there is no fiction of the affiliation of the children to the former husband. A childless man can adopt his brother's son. The sons are heirs, but the eldest son gets something in excess as determined by the council. Daughters have no rights, and after marriage even the claim to maintenance is not recognized. The mother has a life interest if there are no brothers of the deceased. The heirs of a sonless man are his associated brothers and they are supposed to give the widow something unless she is remarried, which is usually the case, unless she is disabled by age or infirmity.

4. The father is called *dauwa*: the grandfather *bâba*: the mother *dâi*: the grandmother *barki dâi*: the father's elder brother *bara* or *barka* ("great").

Relationship.

The wife is always called "the mother of so-and-so," her son. They call a daughter *bahin* or sister, which perhaps points to loose ideas of family life. The wife's father is *mahto* "leader."

Relations generally are *mit* or *yâr* ("friends"). In particular they call *mit* all persons who have the same name as themselves, and with such they are particularly friendly. People resident in the same village are *ganuwa parivâr*.

5. When the birth pains begin they worship the ancestors with the sacrifice of a he-goat and a cock, and

Birth ceremonies. bathe the woman's hands and feet or, in bad cases, her whole body with a decoction of the bark of the Rohini or fig tree. The child is born on the ground and the cord is cut by a Chamârin midwife, who buries it in the place the child was born, placing a bit of iron and a copper pice in the earthen fire pot. On the sixth day (*chhathi*) the Chamârin retires and the mother is bathed by her husband's sister (*nanad*), who cleans the delivery-room (*saur*). The house earthen vessels are replaced, and one or two of the clansmen fed. On the twelfth day (*barahi*) the woman is again bathed and the house cleaned. On that day she cooks for the family and is pure. Her husband does not cohabit with her for six months after her confinement. They have the usual horror of touching menstrual blood or clothes defiled at child-birth. The only puberty ceremony is the ear-boring¹ (*kauchhedan*), which is done at the age of eight or ten, after which the child must conform to caste rules about food.

6. The betrothal is sealed by the exchange between the two fathers of platters of liquor, one containing two rupees placed there by the boy's father, which the girl's father takes. They have the usual *matmangar* ceremony.² The usual anointing of bride and bridegroom follows, which is begun by the fathers on each side taking up a little oil in a wisp of *dûb* grass and sprinkling it on the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. During this time he calls out,—“If my son or daughter is happily married we will worship the ancestors (*pitra*) with a fire offering of butter and a goat or fowl.” Here follows a curious emblematical ceremony. The boy's mother sits on a grain mortar (*okhari*) in the centre of the marriage shed, and her son is seated in her lap. Then the boy, his mother, and the wedding water-pot (*kalsa*) are all tied together with a string and a fire sacri-

¹ The rural proverb runs, *E gur khâyen, kân chhedâyen*, “You must eat this sugar and have your ears bored,” doing a thing *volens volens*. Christian, *Behar Proverbs*, 68.

² For which see *Bhûiya*, para. 14.

fice (*hom*) is done with sugar and butter. The boy's sister holds her hand over the blaze and collects some lampblack on her fingers, which she rubs on her brother's eyes. Then the mother comes under the influence of the goddess Amina Bhawâni and begins to tremble, on which her friends throw some rice over her and take her into the house, whence she soon emerges again to do the wave ceremony (*parachhan*). She holds a vessel (*lota*) full of water, a grain pounder (*mûsal*), and a tray (*thâli*), on which is placed a lighted lamp. First she waves a lump of dough five times over her son's head; she does the same with the *lota*, and pours the water on the ground. Then she moves the rice-pounder five times over him, and with it touches the spot on the ground where the water was poured out. He finally salutes her with the *pâ'lagi* form, and she says,—“Go son! Go son!” When he arrives at the bride's door her father meets him with a new basket, the emblem of his craft, in which is a new loin-cloth dyed with turmeric. This is put on the bridegroom, and the basket is handed to one of his friends. All the friends on both sides stand at the bride's door, beat drums and dance. In this dance the men fasten rattling bangles (*ghungru*) on their ankles and play on the tambourine (*dafla*), flute (*bânsuli*), and large drum (*mândar*), while they leap high in the air and shout. Then they retire to rest under a tree outside the village. One of the bride's friends then comes and washes their feet, after which the boy's father sends a loin cloth (*dholi*) and one hundred cakes (*pûri*) to the bride. These, when they arrive, are carefully counted, and twenty-five are sent back to the bridegroom, who gives a piece to each of his friends.

7. At night the bride and bridegroom are seated in a square (*chank*) in the bride's courtyard.* The father's sister's husbands (apparently a survival of the matriarchate) who manage the business, sit on each side of the pair. They join the hands of the boy and girl, and putting a ring of grass on her finger pour water over their hands while they cry *Bar kanya chiranji rahan*—“Long life to bride and bridegroom.” This is said five times, and water is poured over their hands five times. Then the pair walk five times round a branch of the cotton tree (*semal*) which is fixed up in the marriage shed.¹ Next a curry stone is placed before the pair and on it is

¹ For the respect paid to the cotton tree among the Khândas, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 225.

laid a piece of betel-nut. The bridegroom holds the bride's foot and knocks this off with her toe. This is known as *kuri metna*—"to obliterate the pile," and is said to imply that the rule of the prohibited degrees has been observed in the marriage.¹ Next the bridegroom takes some red lead and rubs the girl with it from the tip of her nose up to the crown of her head, while her sister comes forward and collects (*sendur bahorna*) any loose grains in the corner of her sheet. For this she gets a fee of two annas. Next the pair go into the *kohabar* or retiring room, where a good deal of coarse merriment goes on at the expense of the bridegroom.² The ceremony winds up with a feast and the escort of the bride to her husband's house. A day or two after bride and bridegroom take the two wedding jars (*kalsa*) to a neighbouring tank. The bride stands with her back to her husband and with an affectation of secrecy throws her jar into the water (*kalsa dulâna*). He then stands with his back to her and throws in his jar. Both proceed to search for them, and when they find them fill them with water and bring them home. On the way they rest them on the ground and pour a little of the *bundiya* sweetmeat made of gram flour and butter on the ground. Then they proceed to the tree under which is the shrine of Deonâth, the tribal god, and there make a fire offering (*hom*) with sugar and butter. This closes the marriage ritual, the binding portion of which is the application of red lead (*sendurdân*) to the parting of the bride's hair.³

8. The tribe appears to be in the transition stage between burial and cremation of the dead. In Oudh they bury: in Mirzapur they usually burn the corpse. The dead are cremated in the usual way on the bank of a neighbouring stream. After the cremation is over they pour some oil on their toe-rings, which they take off and warm over a fire and then return to the house of the deceased, where they sit silent for some time before dispersing. On the third day the chief mourner collects the ashes and throws them into running water, and plants near the stream a few stalks of reed grass (*jâkurai*) as a receptacle for the vagrant spirit. Water is poured on this daily for ten days. On the tenth day is the Ghât ceremony when the clansmen shave each other, no barber being employed. Three balls (*pinda*) of flour

¹ *Kuri* means "a pile," and also the exogamous section of the tribe.

² For the significance of this ceremony, see *Kol*, para. 13.

³ This represents the primitive blood covenant.

are thrown into the water by the chief mourner, and he pours three handfuls of water on the ground in the name of the dead. While he does this he turns his hands backwards. No Brâhman is employed and the part of priest is taken by the sister's son of the deceased, (another survival of the matriarchate),¹ for which he receives as his fee an axe and a knife. After this the relations and members of the council sit round the chief mourner, and his sister's husband (*bahnai*) ties a turban on his head in proof that he has taken the place of his father.

8. They are in great fear of the ghosts of the dead who appear in dreams and worry people if they are not propitiated. Their sacrifice is done at the Ancestor worship. Phagua (Holi) festival when a goat, fowl, and some spirits are offered to them. When people are sick they make vows to the sainted dead (*purkha log*), and, when they recover, make offerings to them. In Oudh they are beginning to get a low Brâhman to perform a sort of *Srâddha*.

9. The Dharkârs call themselves Hindus but have a special pantheon of their own, the functions of which are exceedingly vague. Religion. Pahâr Pando is a sort of mountain god. Dûrasin is possibly a local development of Jara-sandha, the deified King of Magadha. Banhiya Bir (the hero of the arm—*bânh*) and Deonâth are deified tribal worthies. Angârmati Bhawâni ("the goddess of the blazing charcoal") is a vague female divinity. Further north towards the Ganges they worship Bîrtiya, a vague deity who is apparently merely a guardian godling (*Sans. vritti*, "support, maintenance"), Dulha Deo, the god of marriage, and the five saints of Islâm (Pânchonpîr), especially Parihâr. Dulha Deo is worshipped on a Saturday in the light half of Kârttik or Baisâkh, when a castrated goat (*khasi*) is offered in the house and the worshippers consume the flesh. He is also propitiated with a loin-cloth dyed in turmeric: and when the worshipper puts this on he gets into a state of frenzy, shakes his head and announces oracles. If Dulha Deo is not worshipped he sends fever and sundry other diseases. The Pânchonpîr are worshipped with the sacrifice of a cock and cakes (*rot*); all who worship them keep a house shrine in their honour. In Oudh they worship Devi with an offering of a goat.

10. The more Southern Dharkârs worship the pantheon above

¹ See Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 142.

described collectively every second or third year in the house. First they make a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) with butter and treacle, then offer a goat and cock, and pour spirits on the ground. Any one can do this worship, and no Brâhman or Baiga is employed. They worship the sainted dead at the Holi, Dasahra, and in the month of Kuâr. On these occasions they all get drunk and dance in a special way with rattling bangles (*ghungru*) attached to their ankles to the music of the tambourine (*dafla*) and the flute (*bânsulî*). Then they visit in procession the houses of the respectable people in the village, dance, and receive fees (*phirikhri*). The usual allowance is a sieve (*sûp*) full of any kind of grain. They believe sunstroke to be due to the attack of Angârmati Bhawâni, who rides in her chariot through the sky in the hot weather. She is appeased on such occasions with a burnt offering (*hom*) and the sacrifice of a goat. All the collective godlings of their pantheon have their abode in a mud platform (*chaura*) erected in the dwelling house. Traces of tree worship are found in their adoration at marriages of a branch of the cotton tree which has the special name of Kalyâni or "the auspicious one." Among the myriad ghosts which surround them they particularly fear the ghosts of drowned people (*bûrna*) who infest tanks where people have been drowned and push in unwary travellers.

11. Fields have also their special Bhûts, and the shrine of a person killed by a tiger (*baghaut*) is specially revered. Their special worship of the bamboo consists in their cutting one bamboo in the month of Aghan when the general cutting begins. This they bring home with marked respect and make a burnt offering (*hom*) before it with butter and treacle. After this bamboo-cutting and basket-making go on. The women tattoo themselves in the usual way: if they do not, Bhagwân brands them with a torch when they die. Friday is their lucky day, and on that day they commence bamboo-cutting. They have the usual meeting omens and the ordinary ideas about the quarters of the heavens. They believe in the demoniacal theory of disease. In such cases they get the Baiga to do a sacrifice to the collective village gods (*âcohâr*): a goat or cock is the usual offering. In specially bad cases of illness the Baiga or Ojha is called in and recognises the particular Bhût, which causes trouble, by shaking about and counting some grains of barley in a sieve. When a person is attacked by the Evil Eye they get some cow-dung ashes, blow into it five times in the name of the sainted

dead, and then rub it on the child. In very bad cases a special offering is made to the spirits of the dead (*purkha log*).

12. The women wear pewtër anklets (*pairi*), glass or lac bangles (*chûri*) on the wrists, and brass rings (*churla*)

Social customs.

on the upper arm, with a pewter ring on the big toe. They abandon this ring on widowhood, and, as has been seen in treating of the death ceremonies, it is supposed to have some mystic significance. On the toe next the big toe women wear a small pewter ring (*chhutki*). This is also taken off at widowhood. On their foreheads they wear spangles (*tikuli*), palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in the ears, and beads (*guriya*) round the neck. They swear by putting a bamboo on the head, and think that if they forswear themselves they lose their children and property. They have now prohibited eating beef and punish its use by excommunication: but this is quite recent, and hardly prevails generally among the less Hinduised branch of the tribe south of the Son. In Oudh some of them will not eat meat during the fortnight (*vitrapaksha*) sacred to the dead. They will not eat food cooked in butter (*pakka khāna*) if touched by a Chamâr, Dhobi, Patâri, Bhuiya, or Dom. They consider themselves much superior to the Doms, as they have abandoned the filthy habits common to the ordinary Doms. Food cooked in water (*kachcha khāna*) they will eat only if cooked by one of their own caste. They have the usual Dom prejudice against the Dhobi. They will not touch their younger brother's wife, their wife's elder sister or the mother (*samdhin*) of their sons' or daughters' wives and husbands. They use spirits and tobacco freely. Men and women eat apart; men first and women after them: but a very old woman is allowed to eat with the men. Seniors they salute in the *pârlagi* form, and receive the blessing (*asîs*) in return. They are very hospitable and will borrow to entertain a guest. As a rule they treat women fairly well, but beat them if they misbehave themselves. They are respectful to the old. No Dharkâr was ever known to read or write. They have a very strong tribal council, and very seldom come before the courts. They work only in bamboo, not in reed (*sentha*). They make winnowing fans (*sûp*), baskets (*dauri*), boxes (*petâra*), betel boxes (*bilâhra*), and red lead boxes (*pauti*). These in the villages are made always on grain wages, and it is only in towns that they are paid in cash.

Distribution of Dharkârs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Sansphor.	Benbansi.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	13	13
Salâranpur . . .	...	...	32	32
Allahâbâd . . .	198	986	4,050	5,234
Benares . . .	...	1,559	323	1,882
Ghâzipur . . .	...	...	1	1
Gorakhpur . . .	102	3,588	1,533	5,228
Basti . . .	213	4,712	379	5,304
Azamgarh . . .	798	2,505	431	3,734
Lucknow . . .	28	1	40	69
Faizâbâd . . .	144	2,274	278	2,696
Gonda . . .	...	1,311	485	1,796
Bahrâich . . .	...	66	16	82
Sultânpur . . .	285	1,453	636	2,374
Partâlgarh . . .	37	555	602	1,194
TOTAL . . .	1,805	19,010	8,824	29,639

Dhobi,¹—the washerman caste who take their name from the Hindi *dhona* (Sans. *dhâv*), to wash. Dhobis have no very distinct traditions of their origin. In Bihâr, according to Mr. Risley,² they trace their descent from Gârî Bhuiya—one of the local gods of that part of the country. Another account makes them out to be the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Chamâr woman. In Mirzapur they name as their ancestor a personage named Râwat, and say that Mahâdeva and Pârvati, disgusted at the filth of the people of the world, created the Dhobi to keep their clothes clean in future. Mr. Nesfield suggests that “the washer-

¹ Based to some extent on notes by Pandit Bhân Pratâp Tiwâri of Chunâr.

² *Tribes and Castes*, I, 233.

man represents an impure caste, but is many degrees higher than that of the Bhangi, from whom he has sprung. Both are descended from the Dom, whose sole wealth, according to Manu, must be dogs and asses. The Indian washerman has always been associated with the indigenous ass, which carries the soiled clothes down to the bank of the river or tank, and takes them back clean to the house. No Hindu of any caste, even the lowest, will wash his own clothes, and so the Dhobi has been formed into a caste which shall bear the impurities of all." Mr. Risley disputes this connection of Doms and Dhobis through the common use of the donkey on various grounds. "In the first place the use of donkeys by the Dhobi caste is so far from being universal that it has given rise to the formation of a slightly inferior sub-caste called Gadhaiya. Secondly, beyond the highly conjectural identification of the Doms with the Chandāls spoken of by Manu, there is nothing to show that the Doms have the faintest partiality for the donkey. On the contrary the Magahiya Doms of Bihār will not touch a donkey and regard the Dhobi with very special aversion." It does not appear necessary to connect the Dhobi with either the Dom or Bhangi in order to account for the low social rank which he holds. One of his chief tasks, except among the Dravidian tribes who do the work themselves, is to wash the clothing of women after child-birth, and his association with blood of this kind, which is particularly abhorred, stamps him as specially impure. Like the Kumhār he keeps asses; but every Dhobi does not necessarily do so, and may use oxen for carrying clothes to and from the river.

2. Like many castes of the same social grade Dhobis assert that there are seven endogamous divisions or sub-castes. Thus Sir H. M. Elliot gives the sub-castes as Kanaujiya, Magahiya, Pagahiya, Belwār, Bātham, and Sribātham (who take their name from Srāvasti) and Bharka. The last Census gives eleven—Ajuḥhyabāsi, Bais, Chithoriya, Deswār, Kaithiya, Kanaujiya, Kathariya, Mathuriya, Purbiya or Parabiya, and Sribāstab. A list from Mirzapur gives them as Kanaujiya, Belwār, Magahiya, Sribāstab, Musalmān Dhobi, Baiswāra, and Bhojpuriya. Another from Agra gives—Mathuriya, Bharka, Mārwarī, Purbiya, and Purbiya Kampu. In Bareilly we find Kathariya, Dehliwāla, Kampūwāla, and Musalmān. All these are endogamous. Their rule of exogamy, as stated by them, at Mirzapur is that they will not marry in the family of their mater-

nal uncle, father's sister or their own family (*kul*) as long as any connection by marriage is remembered. The complete Census Return shows no less than 925 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 216 of the Muhammadan branch. Of these the most important locally are the Chauhân, Chhonkar and Gaur of Muzaffarnagar, the Chhonkar of Meerut, the Purabiya of Agra, the Deswâli of Farrukhâbâd, the Sakarwâr of Mainpuri, the Bakhar, Jalchhatri, Magadbiya, Mangasha and Pâthak of Bareilly, the Râjput of Morâdâbâd, the Bhadauriya, Jalkhatri, and Mahadwâr of Shâhjahanpur, the Deswâli and Purbiya of Pilibhit, the Amethiya and Belwâr of Cawnpur, the Mâthur of Fatehpur, the Belwâr and Mâthur of Bânda, the Dakkhinâha, Sarwariya and Uttarâha of Basti, the Dakkhinâha, Deswâli, Sarwariya and Uttarâha of Azamgarh, the Purabiya of Lucknow, the Jalpachhar, Magaraha and Sarwariya of Râe Bareilly, the Jaiswâr of Faizâbâd, the Ujjaini of Gonda, the Bahrâichiya of Bahrâich, the Jaiswâr of Sultânpur, and the Mangaraha of Bârabanki.

3. To the east of the Province the age for marriage is twelve for girls and fourteen for boys. A match maker (*agua*) at the request of the girl's father looks out for a suitable match. When the auspicious time (*sa'at*) has been fixed by the Brâhman, he casts the horoscopes (*ganna girâna*), and when these are found to correspond, the parents meet and the rite of *kori katori* is performed. In this the girl's father fills a glass full of liquor, puts into it a silver coin and passes it over to the boy's father with the words *Râm! Râm!* When he has drunk he hands it back to the girl's father, who also drinks out of it, and then liquor is served to the clansmen present. This constitutes the betrothal (*mangni*). Then a Brâhman is called in for the *dhân pân*. In this the girl's father takes one *ser* of paddy, two packets of betel and two betel-nuts. Both fathers hold a cloth in their hands. The Brâhman first throws one packet of betel and one betel-nut into the cloth where it is held by the boy's father, and does the same for the girl's father. He next throws a handful of paddy five times into each side of the cloth. Both parents tie this up, and it is parched and used for throwing over the pair at the wedding. Then the Brâhman explains to both the fathers the lucky days for the collection of the sacred earth (*matmangara*) and for the anointing (*tel hardi*), and the proper date for the wedding. For this service each gives the Brâhman a pice and a ration of uncooked grain.

The girl is feasted that night and returns home the following morning.

4. On the day of the *mātmangara* the women assemble and sing after they have anointed their heads with oil. Then the sacred earth is collected in the way already described in the case of the Bhuiyas. On the day of the anointing five men of the tribe erect the marriage pavilion in the usual manner. The barber's wife rubs the boy with a sprig of *dūb* grass soaked in oil and turmeric. No Brāhman attends. On the *bhātwañ* day the clansmen are fed on rice and pulse, and at night they get drunk and sing the song known as *birha*. When the bridegroom, dressed in his wedding garments, starts with his procession, he is carried out as far as the door in the arms of his brother-in-law. When he gets outside the village his wedding clothes are taken off, and he does the rest of the journey on foot until he approaches the house of the bride, when he is dressed again. His brother-in-law again carries him in his arms to the door of the bride's house, where the wave ceremony (*parachhan*) is done by his future mother-in-law, who moves a rice pounder, sieve and a *lota* full of water round his head. During this time a Dhārhi plays the *mridang* or double drum, and the women beat earthen saucers (*thiliya*) with pieces of stone. Then men sing the *birha* and the women the *tāchāri* songs. The wedding party then retire to the reception place (*janwānsa*) where all the clansmen assemble. There some food is sent for the bridegroom from the bride. Then the bridegroom and another boy who acts as his best man (*shāhbāla*) eat together. This food is brought by the girl's brother-in-law, who receives one anna as his perquisite. Then the clansmen have a drink and salute each other. When the lucky time arrives for the marriage, they take the bridegroom to the pavilion and seat him on a stool facing the east. The friends sit on each side. A piece of mango wood is lighted and some clarified butter dropped on it with mango leaves (*tallo*). The men recite the auspicious marriage songs (*sumangala sūdhā*) and then the bride is brought into the pavilion by her sister or sister-in-law and she knots together the clothes of the pair. Then the bride's father washes the great toes of the pair in a tray full of Ganges water, which he drinks, and throws a little of the water on his head. Then behind the shelter of a sheet which is held up before them the boy applies red lead to the parting of the girl's hair, and they walk five times round the marriage pavilion. The boy's elder brother throws

parched rice over them, and puts a necklace round the bride's neck. Then her sister-in-law escorts the pair into the retiring room (*kohabar*) and makes them bow to the family god. After this the boy's wedding crown is removed and he returns to the wedding party.

5. Next comes the wedding feast (*byāh ka bhāt*). Unmarried boys among Dhobis do not eat boiled rice (*bhāt*). They taste it first after they are married. The next day the bride goes off with her husband. On the third day is the *panwpheri*, when, if the two houses are near, the bride goes alone back to her father's house and comes home by herself to her husband. Widows are married in the ordinary way by the *sagāi* or *dharauna* form and the levirate is allowed, but it is not compulsory on the widow to take the younger brother of her late husband.

6. The ceremonies at birth and death are of the usual type common among tribes of the same social standing.

Birth and death ceremonies.

The ceremonial shaving (*mūnran*) is not usually done unless the parents have been blessed with a son in answer to a vow (*manauti*).

7. Dhobis usually worship the Pānchompīr and Devi. They are

Religion.

much given to the worship of ghosts, one of whom named Ghatoriya has a great reputation in Bundelkhand. They have a very strong tribal council and are very severe on breaches of caste custom. They rank of course very low in the social scale, and no respectable Hindu will take anything from their hands. He is the subject of many proverbs :

Nai dhobiniya aweli,

Chirkutwe sâbun laweli.

"The new washerwoman will apply soap even to rags." "A new broom sweeps clean." *Dhobi par Dhobi base, tab kapre par sâbun pare.* "When many Dhobis compete, then only does soap reach the clothes."¹

¹ Christian, *Behar Proverbs*.

Distribution of Dhobis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Ajudhya- dasi.	Bals.	Batham.	Chithoria.	Dowar.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujia.	Katharia.	Mathuria.	Purbia.	Sribastab.	Others.	Musalman Dhobis.	TOTAL.
Debra Dūn	629	...	...	...	...	719	313	1,661
Saharanpur	211	...	...	...	...	3,652	4,340	8,203
Muzaffarnagar	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	821	5,413	6,246
Meerut	2,110	8,684	10,794
Bulandshahr	19	60	186	...	...	7,982	1,906	10,153
Aligarh	4,665	...	...	10,015	1,187	15,867
Mathura	1	247	...	109	105	1,488	...	...	4,031	1,016	7,796
Agra	2,951	38	1,229	...	264	...	2,380	648	...	4,998	675	13,183
Farrukhabad	...	142	1,491	...	...	4,435	2,866	76	115	...	142	3,031	239	12,537
Mainpuri	...	129	1,208	11	...	2,621	297	...	5,523	...	...	3,674	18	13,481
Etdwah	7,198	...	...	920	319	...	510	...	88	2,480	3	11,518
Etah	6	138	...	645	15	7	9,791	...	...	1,406	379	12,377

Distribution of Dhobis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Ajudhya- dasi.	Bais.	Batham.	Chithoria.	Devar.	Kaithiya.	Kannauya.	Kathariya.	Mathuriya.	Purbiya.	Sribastab.	Others.	Musliman Dhobis.	Total.
Bareilly	113	8,604	..	..	..	9,546	3,838	22,101
Bijnor	152	..	..	..	..	1,445	7,030	8,627
Budaun	95	37	715	8,110	..	..	2,400	4,174	15,531
Moradabad	17	..	884	..	..	5,967	7,384	14,252
Shahjahanpur	..	107	8,470	..	..	390	1,384	382	1,760	..	376	6,427	325	19,571
Pilibhit	..	60	1,563	..	..	..	1,621	293	734	..	571	4,819	314	9,975
Cawnpur	..	39	8,202	..	..	125	1,528	47	..	..	2,173	5,170	117	17,401
Fatehpur	..	276	4,740	..	..	..	105	..	..	..	1,645	1,795	708	9,269
Banda	2,159	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	5,506	1,057	172	8,909
Hamirpur	..	249	182	..	..	..	7	..	10	..	5,806	1,698	377	8,329
Allahabad	9,195	..	..	..	4,840	..	..	..	809	5,715	715	21,274
Jhansi	4,314	..	..	..	315	..	25	..	637	1,250	15	6,556
Jalaun	..	14	4,443	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	108	1,637	144	6,385

Lalitpur	...	20	3,771	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	625	...	4,417
Banars	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,378	...	...	...	...	344	818	8,040
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	442	9,044	...	...	...	...	2,308	672	12,466
Jaunpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,776	...	...	1,783	1,080	15,639
Ghazipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,076	...	...	...	...	396	1,250	8,722
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,947	...	...	...	...	280	6	8,233
Gorakhpur	...	117	...	...	...	...	37,238	...	...	...	...	9,174	2,971	49,500
Basti	...	4,138	...	...	...	...	17,425	...	...	...	...	12,367	1,795	35,715
Azamgarh	...	...	...	22	...	...	14,071	...	68	...	...	1,115	2,212	14,488
Kumarr	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	195	...	206
Gazhwal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	29	61
Tarai	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	1,258	...	...	...	526	2,096	3,918
Lucknow	...	140	82	1,034	...	...	2,052	...	...	...	...	6,624	769	12,793
Unao	...	...	447	1,781	...	...	1,991	...	...	...	...	3,828	311	16,142
Ras Bareilly	...	34	33	1,098	...	...	3,258	43	1,715	...	...	6,408	474	13,115
Sitapur	...	318	...	5,558	...	...	1,143	27	81	...	...	3,768	889	20,400
Hardoi	...	...	...	14,628	...	...	497	...	...	...	...	3,955	452	19,532

Distribution of Dhobis according to the Census of 1891—conold.

Districts.	Ajodhya- bas.	Bais.	Batnam.	Chithoria.	Dowar.	Kaithiya.	Kannauya.	Kathariya.	Mathuriya.	Parbiya.	Sridhamab.	Others.	Musalman Dhobis.	TOTAL.
Kheri	27	19	8,874	71	...	74	499	126	5	..	347	3,017	1,755	16,814
Faizabad	1,094	...	14	...	...	...	12,698	...	..	..	141	2,632	638	17,217
Gonda	6,619	...	...	...	...	283	1,906	...	..	..	...	14,377	2,450	25,635
Bahrach	2,958	2	428	...	...	...	2,631	...	..	..	259	9,476	3,469	19,226
Sultanpur	165	54	1,163	...	...	...	6,612	...	..	..	674	3,951	1,319	13,933
Paribgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,632	...	..	..	862	5,557	1,385	10,433
Barabanki	19	78	370	...	...	...	7,200	...	..	..	763	6,124	2,591	17,145
TOTAL	15,609	1,751	95,462	281	1,576	10,092	157,723	11,693	50,816	648	36,551	197,585	78,947	658,734

Dhuniya, Dhuna (Hindi *dhunna*, "to card:" Sans. *dhu*, "to agitate"), the cotton-carding caste. Other names for them are Behna (Sans. *viśā*, "seed"), who is properly the man who removes the cotton seed from the fibre; Katera (*kātna* "to spin"), Kadera (Sans. *karśha*, "dragging," *kāra*, "doer"); if he is a Muhammadan or the speaker a pedant he is called Naddāf, which in Arabic means "separator." There are some Hindus who carry on this occupation; but most of them are Muhammadans, and these alone find an entry in the returns of the last Census.

2. To the west of the Province the Hindu Dhuniyas claim to be of Rājput origin. They are divided into five endogamous sub-castes—Chauhān and Bargūjar, which are well-known Rājput septs; and the Dhakeri, Bargali and Chhunkari, which take their names from the *dhāk* tree (*butea frondosa*), the *bar* (*Ficus Indica*), and the *chhonkar* (*prosopis spicigera*), all of which are sacred trees and regarded with special respect by those Dhuniyas who take their names from them. This idea is probably of totemistic origin. The sub-castes are endogamous, and though there does not appear to be any regular formula of exogamy, marriage is usually forbidden in the families of the uncles and aunts on both sides. Their marriage, birth, and death customs are of the usual type common to low castes in the same social grade. Their deities are Māta, the small-pox goddess, Mīran Sāhib, the saint of Amroha, Chāmar, Devi, and the Ganges. They employ Brāhmans in their religious ceremonies and perform the *śrāddha* for deceased ancestors. They drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats, sheep and fish, but not beef, pork, fowls, or carrion.

3. These were recorded in the general Census Report under only one main sub-caste, the Mansūri, who take their name from a tribal saint, Khwāja Mansūr, of whom they can give no account, save that he was a faqīr of wondrous piety, who had the power of working miracles. He is believed to have been a native of Rūm or Constantinople, and to have accompanied the Dhuniyas when they entered the country in the train of the early Muhammadan invaders. To the east of the Province they call themselves Sunni Muhammadans, but they have retained in their domestic ceremonies many of the forms of the Hindu ritual of the lower castes from which most of them are probably converts. Thus they collect the sacred earth (*matinangara*) at marriages, carry out the night watch (*ratjaga*) before marriage,

and there is a distinct survival of marriage by capture in the observance by which the bride, when the bridegroom arrives at the house for the marriage, is furnished with a small stick with which she gives him two or three slight blows on the head as he enters the door. The marriage service is read by the Qâzi if the parties are well-off; by the Dafâli if they are poor. At death if there is an educated Muhammadan present he reads the Fâtiha; but this is not indispensable. They are usually worshippers of the Pânchonpîr, and they have one special usage, known as the *Piyâla* or "cup," when on a Tuesday in the month of Aghan the men and women go to the riverside and offer up some spirits and sweetmeats to Sahjamâi, one of the quintett eof the Pânchonpîr; this is consumed by the Dafâli who acts as priest. They spend the whole night by the river listening to the songs sung in honour of the goddess by the Dafâli.

4. The complete Census Returns show 152 sections of the Muhammadan branch of the tribe. Many of them are local terms, such as the Ajudhyabâsi, Audhiya, Bahrâichi, Baksariya, Gangapâri, Mathuriya, Purabiya; others are taken from well-known castes or septs, such as the Baheliya, Banjâra, Bargûjar, Chanhân, Dhângar, Gaur, Gorakhi, Gûjar, Kharebindi, Madâri, Mukeri, Naddâf, Panwâr, Pathân, Râjput, Râthaur, Râwat; others are purely Muhammadan in form as Ansâri, Châryâri, Jalâli, Khwâjamahar, Khwâja-mansûri, Khwâja-Muhammadi, Khwâja-Sarâi, Muhammad Hanfi, Muhammadi, Momîn, Sayyid, Shâhmansûri, Shaikh Shiah, Sunni, Turkiya, and Usmâni.

5. The primary business of the Dhuniya is the carding or rather scutching of cotton. This is done by subjecting it to the vibration produced by a bow string (*dhanuhi*, Sanskrit, *dhanus*). The bow is usually suspended from the roof so as to hang at a convenient height above the pile of loose cotton. The string is then twanged with a wooden catch so as to strike a small portion of the cotton, the fibre of which is scattered by the impact and thrown off in an uniform condition of soft fluff. At the same time any dirt which is entangled in the fibre falls out and the clean cotton is made up into balls, some of which are passed on to the spinner and some are used for the padding of quilts and wraps (*rasâi*, *lihâf*) and the warm-padded garments used in the cold weather. The Dhuniya also sometimes keeps a small shop where he sells thread and various articles, such as

pewter bangles, forehead spangles, and similar things. Another trade which he often follows, is the making of the little charcoal balls (*tikiya*) used for lighting the tobacco in the *huqqa*.

6. The Dhuniyas have in Nâmdeo Bhagat a tribal saint who is much respected by them. He is said to have been born in Mârwar in A.D. 1443 and to have flourished in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1512). According to one account he was a Mahratta and was born at Pandharpur, in the Dakkhin. "He is said to have been persecuted by the Musulmâns, who tried to persuade him to repeat the words *Allâh! Allâh!* instead of his favourite *Râm! Râm!* but by a variety of astonishing miracles he escaped from their hands. After a considerable amount of travelling to and fro, he at last settled in the village of Ghumân, in the Batâla Tahsil of the Gurdâspur District, where he died. A shrine, known as the Darbâr, was erected in his honour in Ghumân, and on the Sankrânt day of every Mâgh a crowded fair is held there in his honour. His followers can scarcely be said to constitute a sect. They are almost entirely Chhimbas (the Dhuniyas of these Provinces) or Dhobis by caste. Their founder appears to have stoutly resisted the pretensions of Muhammadanism, and was looked as a follower of Râmchandra, but his Hinduism was by no means of the ordinary type. He taught emphatically the unity of God and the uselessness of ceremonial, and his doctrines would appear to have approached fairly close to those of Nânak and the Eastern Sikhs; and several of his poems are included in the Sikh Adi Granth. At any rate the followers of Bâba Nâmdeo are very largely Sikhs by religion, and they are said, whether Sikhs or Hindus by religion, to hold the Granth in reverence and to follow many Sikh customs. They have no distinctive worship of their own."¹

Distribution of the Dhuniyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Mansâri.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûu	179	179
Sahâranpur	2,799	2,799
Muzaffarnagar	3,013	3,013
Meerut	4,422	4,422

¹ MacLagan, *Panjab Census Report*, 1891, 144: also see *Chhâtri*, 5.

Distribution of the Dhuniyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	Mansûri.	Others.	TOTAL.
Bulandshahr . . . . .	...	1,500	1,500
Aligarh	1,330	5,041	6,371
Mathura . . . . .	...	64	64
Agra	11	399	410
Farrukhâbâd	1	7,329	7,330
Mainpuri . . . . .	...	3,263	3,263
Etâwah	51	3,737	3,788
Etah . . . . .	...	4,525	4,525
Bareilly	1,520	11,708	13,228
Bijnor . . . . .	...	11,056	11,056
Budâun	44	1,808	1,852
Morâdâbâd . . . . .	...	7,862	7,862
Shâhjâhânpur	118	8,589	8,707
Pilibhît	15	5,932	5,947
Cawnpur	126	8,383	8,509
Fatehpur	1,639	3,756	5,395
Pânda	2,681	4,724	7,405
Hamîrpur . . . . .	...	8,341	8,341
Allahâbâd	2,238	15,841	18,079
Jhânsi	228	4,374	4,602
Jâlaun	70	2,894	2,964
Lalitpur . . . . .	...	1,116	1,116
Benares	703	4,553	5,256
Mirzapur	372	6,003	6,375
Jaunpur	11,710	2,049	13,759
Ghâsipur	2,055	2,318	4,373
Ballia	608	3,042	3,650

Distribution of the Dhuniyas according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICTS.	Mansûri.	Others.	TOTAL.
Gorakhpur	30,520	9,949	40,469
Basti	28,559	1,024	29,583
Azamgarh	2,256	17,428	19,684
Tarâi . . . . .	...	1,745	1,745
Lucknow	1,460	4,186	5,646
Unâo	566	7,344	7,910
Râe Bareli	115	9,035	9,150
Sitapur	5,845	7,749	13,594
Hardoi	50	10,708	10,758
Kheri	511	11,127	11,638
Faizâbâd	1	12,787	12,788
Gonda	699	12,264	16,963
Bahrâich	1,096	15,037	16,133
Sultânpur . . . . .	...	7,909	7,909
Partâbgarh	258	7,369	7,627
Farabanki	1,064	13,186	14,250
TOTAL	98,520	303,467	401,987

Dhûsar; Dhûnsar,¹ a tribe usually classed as a sub-caste of Banyas, but who claim a higher origin than the ordinary Vaisyas. They take their name from a hill called Dhûsi or Dhosi, near Nârnaul, on the borders between Alwar and British territory. There their ancestor Chima or Chimand Rishi is said to have performed his devotions. This Rishi is said to have married a daughter of the Râja of Kâshi or Benares. Their head-quarters in Western India are Rewâri, in Gurgâon. Their pretensions to Brâhmanical origin are admitted by Brâhmins themselves, and they are now usually

¹ Partly based on a note by Bâbu Ishan Chandra Banarji, Head Master, High School, Râe Bareli.